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ABSTRACT

This second annual publication concerns the multidisciplinary topic of international and intercultural communication. The titles of the papers are "Implications of Cognitive Norms for the Study of Social Change;" "The Study of Communication Messages and the Conflict over Global Eco-patience;" "Language and Ethnicity in Intergroup Communication;" "Intercultural Communication Vistas: Description, Concept, and Theory;" "Research Methodology in Another Culture: Some Precautions;" "Perception of Self and Others: An Approach to Intercultural Communication;" "Implications of Intercultural Communication for Bilingual and Bicultural Education;" "The Multinational Business Organization: A Schema for the Training of Overseas Personnel in Communication;" "Minoritarianism and Ethnic Groups Communication;" "A Model for the Study of Intercultural Communication in Colleges and Universities of the United States;" "A Two-Week International Workshop in Cross-Cultural Counseling;" "Critical Review of Recent Literature;" and "Directory of Organizations Concerned with International/Intercultural Communication Study, Teaching, Research, Practice, Sponsorship." (MKM)

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EDITOR'S NOTES

I am certain that scholars of human communication are as much subject to human frailties as anyone else. But I hope I will be permitted a certain amount of chauvinistic pleasure because of something which, at least to me, appears to become clearer every day. Those among us who are studying various aspects of communication are finding it increasingly easier to cooperate, to talk to each other, to see common factors, rather than finding our own kind of security by insisting that we are "specialists" whose work or interests "clearly distinguish" us from other scholars. My own prejudices and preconceptions cause me to believe that it is high time for all of us to find ways of working together, while inspiring and encouraging one another rather than to continue the trend of the first half of this century which hopelessly split us into dozens of special interest groups, each one re-inventing the wheel hundred of times each year.

Undoubtedly it will take some time until we can be entirely relaxed and content in each other's presence, but as the small steps forward multiply (and if current trends continue), progress will become more evident with the passage of time. Call it an interdisciplinary approach, a holistic view, or a General Systems orientation, or simply a recognition of the fact that to be human is to communicate. In any case, we appear to be ready to take a look at the synergetic qualities of human communication with all of their interactive ramifications, while becoming more and more willing to reach back to certain humanistic rhetorical foundations which earlier had allowed us to consider the whole Man and the whole Universe of his interests and concerns as they relate to each other. It is tempting to announce the discovery of trends which may lead to another Renaissance, but I shall resist that temptation in the hope that it won't be too long before I can get on the "bandwagon" with a kind of self-satisfied smile which indicates that "I told you so."

There are important needs which have yet to be met by all of us who profess to be scholars of human communication. One appears to me, to be based on our willingness to learn from the mistakes which have been made by academicians in various disciplines as they struggled to make their fields academically and scientifically "respectable." Certainly we cannot at this time lay claim to any kind of generally accepted or commonly used theory of human communication. At times we seem to be plunging ahead in our various attempts to achieve academic status, motivated primarily by publish-or-perish policies at various institutions of higher learning. In many instances we confuse anecdotal reports with the development of theoretical concepts which are more generally acceptable. Then again we tend to confuse thoughtful meditation and evaluation with the confused ramblings of exploration which would be better accomplished in some quiet office than in the pages of a professional publication. As we realize the great need for the application of scholarly and scientific discipline and principles, I hope however, that we will not overlook the need for creative thought and challenge based on the insights of the experienced students and scholars.

Certainly there are aspects of all these hopes and aspirations represented in the pages of this second issue of the INTERNATIONAL AND INTERCULTURAL COMMUNICATION ANNUAL. We still fall short of the ideal, which I consider fortunate, because it gives others an opportunity to keep trying in our never-ending attempt to reach for perfection, achievement, knowledge, insight.

Fred L. Casmir, Editor
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IMPLICATIONS OF COGNITIVE NORMS FOR THE STUDY OF SOCIAL CHANGE

Rosalie Cohen
Temple University

Both the rate of social change and its complexity have engaged the interest of those who study it in the development of comprehensive models of change. This paper is a "think piece" in the above vein. It questions widely held beliefs that increasing levels of social and cognitive differentation may be viewed as a single model of change and development. Extrapolated from research on conceptual styles, links are drawn here between occupational dominance in a society, legitimate belief systems and values, and the personality types viewed as "typical" or "modal" in it. No data are presented. They are found, with their appropriate theoretical bases, in the appended suggestive bibliography and in its supportive literature. An appendix is attached. It is a partial synthesis of taxonomies for which some empirical validation has been possible.

Cognitive Norms and Social Change

The interrelatedness of cognitive and social structural phenomena has been observed by many investigators, suggesting that each may be studied in reference to the other. In research on methods of "knowing," for example, four distinct sets of cognitive rules and a number of transition combinations emerged. All of them were associated with social structural characteristics among their carriers, and from them, both group and individual styles and identities appeared to have emerged. These studies were less concerned with the content of experience than with the rules controlling the selection of elements for storage and later use in a complex milieu, and with the number and character of the categories of knowing and their inter-linkages. Such rule sets were found not only to control the possible and permissable relations among objects, among individuals, and between individuals and objects among their users, but they also controlled the perceptual distance between individuals (as observers) and their "fields," determining the objectivity or subjectivity of their users and their physiological responsiveness as well. These rule-sets also appeared to make possible the number of identifiable categories into which an experience could be stratified, governing for their carriers their manageble levels of stimulation.

Two styles, called Concrete and Analytic, were object-centered, defining object-object relationships as models of other kinds of relationships. Two others, called Flexible and Relational, were subject-centered, the former interpersonal and the latter, intrapersonal. Following one or another of these four composition rule-sets appeared to result in the stimulation and development of different kinds of talents and abilities; and the requirements of each rule-set, in defining its central core of reality, its norms of perceptual distance and its appropriate level of stimulation, appeared to create distinctive kinds of personal styles in its carriers, frequently viewed as personality traits. So pervasive were individuals' different approaches to their environments, as they followed from using one or another of these rule-sets, that the behavior characteristics associated with them have been viewed by some investigators as intrinsic to the individual. These rule-sets are used pervasively by individuals to separate the relevant from the unimportant; and they function from the level of perception to the realm of values. When widely held in a society, or especially useful, they appear to become identifiers of the "modal personality."

Such personal styles have also been associated with group phenomena. A wide range of

taxonomies have developed from research in many disciplines which address themselves to these internally consistant but different patterns of behavior, both as characteristics of individuals and of groups. The essence of research from these multiple vantage points is, thus, that the rules which individuals use to think with are governed by norms, as are those designed to maintain social order, and that the norms of social organization and those of cognitive organization are mutually reinforcing.

In these studies of cognitive organization, each of the conceptual styles was associated with participation in distinctive types of primary group process in which group norms were reproduced by their members analogically, as norms of cognitive and language organization. To the extent that a particular kind of social organization is reproduced in a society in multiple contexts, its related norms in mental processes and language use are viewed as valid interpretations of reality. They are rationalized as institutional norms, and they take on value status.

An example of the above process may be found in considering the multiple contexts in which the norms of formal or complex social organization occur in mature industrial nations. In them, the organization of multiple-process industry is clearly the dominant factor in establishing institutionalized cognitive norms in its schools and other public socialization arenas. As industrial tasks have become highly differentiated, specialized and associated in formal structures- school curricula, the categorization of pupils, the preparation of teachers and the content of each day's and each year's learning tasks reflect parallel differentiation and organization. The process of conceptual differentiation is extended into formal requirements of standardized measures of cognitive performance and into language use as well. Where variations are apparent, they follow closely the level of differentiation dominant in the area in which the schools appear. In rural areas, for instance, the level of differentiation is lower than in urban areas (even within a common school system), as the tasks performed by agriculture-dominated enclaves are less differentiated and specialized. Highly stratified social norms are not reinforced in the life experience of their participants.

Differences in the important life experiences of individuals in agriculture and industrial settings are complex in their effect on cognitive processes. In addition to differences in the level of differentiation used by individuals in them, broad variations also occur in individuals' independence or interdependence, in the size of their personal spaces, and in their perceptions of time and causality. Undifferentiated tasks can be performed independently, for instance; highly specialized multiple-process orientations require high levels of social inter-dependence. This characteristic of social organization appears also in the cognitive processes of the two kinds of individuals. The independence or interdependence of an individual's orientation (social and cognitive) also appears to affect his sense of personal space (that area around the body of an individual which he considers to be "his," and inviolate). The higher the level of interdependence engaged in by individuals and reflected in their cognitive processes, the smaller their perceptions of personal space, and the more rigid are its boundries and the norms governing their permeability. Different levels of time perception differentiation are also apparent among individuals whose norms vary along this continuum. Those individuals whose occupations (and whose cognitive processes) exhibit low levels of differentiation, also live more closely in accordance with the relatively simple cycles of nature- day and night, the seasons, youth and age. Those from highly differentiated social settings internalize, instead, the highly complex contrived time schedules made necessary by their multiple-process occupations. Time, for them is an abstract linear resource

which can be infinitely divided to accommodate multiple activities. Perceptions of causality are also different, those of differentiation associated with multiple linear causality, as opposed to simpler models. The institutionalized cognitive norms of modern industrial nations appear, thus, as mental reflections of social and occupational norms dominant at a given point in time; and the standards of appropriate language use in these frameworks have been similarly accommodated.

Most "change" models have been sensitive to progressive differentation as a definition of social and/or individual change – or more significantly – of progress and development. They hold that any increase or decrease in structural differentiation – social, cognitive, linguistic or other, might be used as an indicator of development. Indeed, the success of intervention strategies geared to improving development has been measured in both social and individual arenas by their relative capacity to accelerate this process. Once begun, this formal linear differentiation process tends to reproduce itself. The more complex a stimulus becomes, the larger the number of sub-strata there are for further stratification, accelerating the rate of change.

Intriguing questions are raised, thus, by the two subject-oriented conceptual styles which were identified – the Flexible and the Relational – as they reflect newly dominant norms and they do not follow the pattern of progressive differentiation. Neither style provides for progressive differentiation in its rules, and carriers of these two styles have personal styles and values which are quite different from those of traditional norms. Both are subject-centered, for instance, rather than object-centered. The Flexible style is associated occupationally with third sector (service) occupations; and among its users, independence as a social norm is uncommon. Also rare is the complex, highly rational inter-dependence of the multiple process themes. Interdependence is selective and personalistic; as a result this style is not common in large-scale arenas. The personal spaces of its users are viewed as modifiable at will, and the rigid barriers in personal space common among participants in multiple process settings are not apparent among Flexible style carriers. Time is viewed by them more like a space in which to do things than as a linear resource; and causality is viewed in interpersonal perspective.

Even more marked in its difference from the object-oriented linear frames of reference are those of Relational style users, the rules of whose cognitive organization are intra-personal, whose social norms are contra-differentiation, and whose products are viewed as fourth sector (intangible) products – e.g. creative art and music, and some deviant occupations such as burglary and gambling. No linear notions appear in their vocabularies or language use, nor in their concept of time, nor in their social relationships, nor in their views of causality. They actively oppose objectification and differentiation.

Despite the obviously deviant character of the Flexible and Relational styles from multiple-process norms, all four styles have been found in sufficiently sizable proportions to be significant in all population samples studied and observed. That the institutional norms (of cognitive process, for instance) have been uni-modal despite this diversity is therefore of interest. Dominant styles, their related social bases, and their personal styles as standards, appear to be defined as those most visible in a society as they are related to occupational dominance, whether or not their carriers represent statistical majorities. Whatever the dominant occupational thrust is appears to define institutional norms; its method of social organization becomes the institutional standard; and its sequelae in cognitive processes and

language use come to define the behavior of its "modal" personality.

The impact of the newly dominant service industries in the United States on its institutional norms is a case in point. Since 1956, when service and fourth sector industries gained dominance over multiple process industry, public socialization settings such as the schools have adopted open classrooms (an architectural reversal of the classification of space); individualized learning programs no longer artifically differentiate units of time; unit plans in which curriculum is viewed as global have been accepted; team teaching has reversed the process of teacher differentiation and classification; and "family learning groups," in which the differentiation of children into age and ability cohorts has been abandoned are now common. The shift from object to subject-centered orientations is quite clear in institutionalized expectations that the affective domain be developed in curricula; and an interest in the mystical, in Mind Training and Yoga are all involved. Researchers have also renewed their interest in the "other side of the brain" (that hemisphere of the brain which controls non-linear, non-logico-analytic, intuitive, affective mental processes) along with their interests in the "involving media" such as color television on one hand and counselling on another.

This reversal in the process of linear differentiation has not appeared as a de-development process. It appears that the shift in the occupational dominance from the multiple process, object-oriented themes of the past, to the service and creative orientations of newly dominant service and intangibles industries has created a cultural transformation of some magnitude which does not follow the linear differentiation process. This paper questions, thus, the utility of this single model for the analysis of social change.

Four Conceptual Styles and Related Variation in Some Selected Choice Behaviors

Conceptual Styles	Church Style	Political Style	Ideal Health Services	Age-status Elite	Orientation to past & present	Planning Time — space Means-Ends
Analytic	Large: Secularized doctrine	Liberal Conservative	Rehabilitative	Middle age range (those actively participating	Present: relevant range, near past to near future	Short-term: highly rationalized plans: Means focus
Flexible	Large: Social identity, social responsibility doctrine	Liberal	Preventive	The young and the very young	Future	Long-term plans: Intuitive, open to constant modification: Ends focus
Concrete	Small: Traditional doctrine	Conservative: but also radical on both ends of the spectrum	Treatment	Elders	Past (from the beginning)	Present and future viewed as emergent
Relational	Small: Affective Faith-in God doctrine	Convential participation low: indigenous pol. orient. highly personalistic	Non-conventional; faith healing; occult; neighbors & corner pharmacist	———	Present: NOW	Planning is viewed as dysfunctional to self-realization

The Association of Four Conceptual Styles and Their Cognitive Components With Modes of Self-Identification, Referrent "Others," Positive or Negative Attitudes Toward the Norms of Formal Organization & Ego-Involvement in Them, Value Realms, Brain Hemisphere Mental Functions, Language Style and Perceptual Distance: A Synthesis of Some Relevant Taxonomies

Conceptual Style & cognitive skill components	Modalities of Self-Identification	Referent "Others"	Positive or Negative Attitudes Tow. the Norms of Formal Org. & Ego-Involvmt. in them	Value Realms	Brain Hemisphere Mental Functions (Propositional or Appositional)	Language Use	Perceptual Distance (distance of observer from his "fields"
ANALYTIC Mode of Abstr.: **Formal** Field Artic.: **Extract**	Status	Generalized "others" (George Herbert Mead)	Positive: Ego-Involved	Isolative Personal	Propositional	Standard English of controlled elaboration	Close enough to study and manipulate; not so close as to be affected by it
FLEXIBLE Mode of Abstr.: **Formal** Field of Artic.: **Embed**	Individualized Action	Significant "others" (Harry Stack Sullivan)	Positive: Non-Ego Involved	Inclusive Interpersonal		Standard English highly elaborated	Perceptual distance manipulable
CONCRETE Mode of Abstr.: **Descriptive** Field Artic.: **Extract**	Concrete	No group "others"; Naturally or biologically defined "others" (e.g. species, race, family) or accidental "others" (community)	Negative: Non-Ego Involved	Simplistic		Standard English of little elaboration	Great: unmanipulable except by manipulating the laws of Nature
RELATIONAL Mode of Abstr.: **Descriptive** Field Artic.: **Embed**	Transcendental	Universal "others"	Negative: Ego-Involved	Comprehensive	Appositional	Non-Standard English	Observer is immersed in his "fields," and cannot escape constant response to them

1. Taxonomy of M.H. Kuhn and T.S. McPartland: Elaborated by W.G. Hartley and R. Cohen
2. Sheriffian Attitude Anchor Framework – Taxonomy developed by Lloyd Ward and Barbara Jameson
3. Taxonomy of Otto von Mering
4. Distinction of Jos. E. Bogen and Associates

Charts reproduced from Cohen, Rosalie "Conceptual Styles: New Educational Strategies for Cultural and Linguistic Minority Children" (Position Paper) Commissioned by and prepared for the Nat'l Inst. of Education, Wash. D.C., 1974

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THE STUDY OF COMMUNICATION MESSAGES AND THE CONFLICT OVER GLOBAL ECO–PATIENCE

Donald G. Douglas
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Introduction

In the closing decades of the twentieth century, global society is caught up on a curious paradox of extremes. By making people more secure against hunger and disease we have increased astronomically the number of humans occupying the planet; by bridging the physical distance between peoples we have increased the critical interdependency of all human societies; by communicating the material possibilities of a better life we have increased enormously all peoples' expectations of sharing in our accumulated wealth; and by the prodigal exploitations of our physical resources we have produced grave imbalances in our life-sustaining natural systems. At the time, then, when we have achieved the developed skills and resources to solve many of our major global problems, they have in turn become seemingly intractable. And the recurring crises that accompany delays in providing solutions lead to frustration and conflict in major sectors of society.

The purpose of this paper is to outline in broad perspective the parameters for new and much needed future research in international and intercultural communication pertaining to the value forming institutions of our society (the media, the schools, the business community, etc.) that influence and help formulate policy decisions in a time of dynamic global change. With the growing awareness that national and cultural value systems are important influences in the deterioration of global ecological quality, the systematic study of international and intercultural interactions promises to become more rather than less significant in the years ahead. Under these circumstances we need some framework for understanding *first* the nature of international and intercultural communication as an object for study in relation to the formulation of ecological values and attitudes, and *second* the status of ecology-related value systems as they are influenced by global communication patterns of humankind at the present time. Specifically, the kind of future research program this essay attempts to describe characteristically includes a study of message patterns in international and intercultural interactions employed by professional practitioners (e.g. labor leaders, business executives, diplomats, etc.) and directly interrelated with the formulation of existing ecological values and attitudes and with the prescription of future sources of action for improving global ecological existence.

The Nature of Communication as a Study of Attitudes and Values

The specific methods of cross-national and cross-cultural communication research have been discussed by Kluckhohn (1940), Maccoby and Maccoby (1951), Paul (1953), Whiting (1954), Lindsey (1961), and Northrop and Livingston (1964). The methods of research they discuss are primarily concerned with the effectiveness of selected communication behavior and machinery for transforming communication policy into communication practices, the personnel who operate this machinery and the techniques they employ. Normally, the variables investigated pertain to the manipulations of the chief elements in the communication process which may be "...summarized in the following formula: who says what to whom through what medium for what purposes under what circumstances and with what effects?"[1]

Contemporary scholars in rhetorical and communication theory, however, have tended to move away from the chief elements approach to communication research and in its place they have shown increasing interest in the study of arguments and structural arrangements contained in individual messages covering a wide range of cultural situations. Because the study of selected variables among complementary elements in the communication process requires the sampling of isolated cultural traits and their corresponding communication behavior, these recent studies contend that the chief-elements approach to communication research is usually of only modest utility for purposes of understanding the socio-economic values and attitudes of a culture. Communication, on the other hand, they argue, "is usually – although not always – an auxiliary instrument of policy" and is, therefore, an important source of study in conjunction with diplomatic, economic or military decisions or actions of which it is an auxiliary.[2] By summarizing discussions presented elsewhere, MacKay remarks that "it seems possible to distinguish fairly clearly between the mechanical aspects of such processes by looking at their different effects on the goal-complexes involved."[3] As Condon and Yousef remark, "Karl Pribram in his book, *Conflicting Patterns of Thought*, and later Edmund Glenn in articles and speeches have done much in recent years to call out attention to this field" of research.[4] Miller and Simons state that because of our "rich rhetorical heritage as well as ... recent contributions to rhetorical theory and communication theory" scholars in speech-communication are in a unique position to characterize message patterns in conflict transactions.[5] "Conflict strategems are, after all," says Simon, "eminently rhetorical in nature, and the effort to discover and systematize rules of rhetoric has long been our principal mission."[6]

Bloom suggests that the critical perspective for contemporary communication theory and research "is sought within the formulative notions of sematic empiricism" and has its philosophical foundations in the work of Abraham Kaplan, Charles Morris and Alfred North Whitehead.[7] The assumption underlying the meaning-centered approach to research holds that any culture manifests its special character through selected expressive forms of discourse. Beginning with the "Burkeian notion of rhetorical communication as dramatistic," these studies proceed by identifying "extended and recurring stochastic processes of social interaction" which are deeply rooted in the social, economic and political conflicts of society.[8] Conflict interactions (which Mortenson defines as "struggles over incompatible interests in the distribution of limited resources"[9]) are believed to reside in the expression of value biases found in the eternal struggle over competing cultural orientations.

In his study of "Social Values, the Enthymeme and Speech Criticism," Steele suggests that the value system of a culture refers to a kind of behavior which is of primary concern in the examination of specific communication functions.[10] Similarly, in his 1962 work laying out the philosophical parameters for a meaning-centered theory of communication, Barnlund contends that a close relationship exists between communication and "man's attempt to cope with his experience, his current mood, his emerging needs." He says, for example, "that life becomes intelligible to us – full of beauty or ugliness, hope or despair – ... because it is assigned that significance by the experiencing being."[11] In a subsequent work Bateson elaborates upon Barnlund's position by explaining that the system of values and the system of codification of information are aspects of the same central phenomena. "The value system and the codification system are alike," says Bateson, "in that each is a system ramifying through the total world of the individual. The value system, as organized in terms of preferences, constitutes a network in which certain items are selected and others passed over or rejected.... Similarly, it was pointed out in regard to the codification system that all

events and objects which present themselves are in some degree classified into the complex system of Gestalten which is the human codification system."[12] In other words, the position of Steele, Barnlund, Bateson *et al* is that a value system of a culture and a communication system of codification of information are alike in essential functions and, therefore, the study of communication messages may provide understanding of the values and value system held by a culture as it considers the acceptance or rejection of a proposed course of action.

The explanation for the integrality of a communication system and the value system of a culture lies in the fact that the neurological system which "makes it possible for the motor responses and cultural artifacts of the people of a culture to be a function of not merely the facts of the moment as given in their sensory stimulation, but also 'their own' remembered, intercommunicated and shared philosophy."[13] is the same neurophysiological system of any healthy human being which Northrop characterizes as "built in logic and ... programed normative procedural instructions."[14] The function of this system forms the basis for the study of cultural anthropology and makes possible the understanding of competing cultural orientations. That is to say that man, as a goal-directed being, competes in an ongoing selective process by which his behavior is organized in accordance with a hierarchy of goals and norms that together comprise the social system. From this it follows, states MacKay, "that the categories in terms of which the world is perceived and conceived will depend on the various ways in which it has been found to thwart, facilitate and mold the pursuit of the organism's particular goals."[15]

An important example pointing up this heuristic nature of communication in culture is Northrop's classical inquiry into the conflict over the *Meeting of East and West*. Northrop, like MacKay, takes his basic decision making model from Dewey's theories of problem solving, particularly the process establishing a hierarchy of "goal complexes" for influencing and ordering behavior. Having accounted for the emotional, aesthetic, and ineffable spiritual nature of man and the universe, Northrop proposes a solution to the basic problem including the merging of "the true and valuable portions of ... [the] medieval and modern worlds"[16] with a reinforcement and reconciliation of mutually held but culturally expressive value premises. Having detailed such a proposal Northrop then makes one impelling observation: "Running through all these special tasks," he remarks, "is the more general one, made imperative with the advent of the atomic bomb, of harmonizing the sciences and the humanities."[17] From this, Northrop asserts, it necessarily follows that for any solution to avert failure it must begin with the conceptual framework of the world that is holistic in respect to value-hierarchies. For to do otherwise, the motor responses and cultural artifacts which order the logic and normative procedural instructions of the organism are structured into a single complex perception of the world which is "...almost, (if not quite) beyond the conceptual grasp of another .... [Therefore] we have here," remarks MacKay, "a most potent and subtle source of failure in human communication."[18]

Communication research from a "meaning-centered" approach, then, makes imperative the understanding of goal complexes as "value premises" contained in specific communication messages because these premises provide a hierarchical framework for harmonizing a variety of emotional, aesthetic and spiritual tasks into an identifiable cultural order or society. Though Northrop was writing just following World War II, it seems indicative of man's deep fractionalization of thinking about himself and his relationship to the environment in which he lives that even today no single holistic concept or phrase is readily available to designate

inclusively the foci of the natural sciences, the social sciences, the humanities and the arts. The broad term "knowledge" is used to refer to all those cognitive activities that bear on making decisions about man in culture. Knowledge, so understood, does not make decisions but is a requisite component of efficient economic and rational decision-making; knowledge is the substance from which goal complexes are composed. Where practices abusive to man and his culture have been perpetuated under the guise of science, it is in retrospect clear that knowledge purportedly applied was quite imperfect, often because of the restrictive focus of a single scientific "discipline."

Such "sovereignization" of fragmented and refractured disciplines must be noted with sadness. Techniques of interpersonal communication cannot, of themselves, surmount internal psychological and emotional obstacles, nor can they be absorbed without a frame of reference sufficiently comprehensive to indicate the relevance of the research of others. The goal establishing process both within a culture and across cultures must be equipped with a broad frame of reference that permits identification of problems and that traces through time the aggregate consequences on man and his environment of the alternative courses of action open to him.

The study of value premises, therefore, may reveal, for example, the nature of cultural and national biases and attitudes as they affect large segments of society in relationship to important socio-economic and political conflicts. Whatever specific structures such studies may take, the special educational needs of decision makers should emphasize (1) detailed clarification of relevant community policies, (2) the description of past experiences in the management of the problem involved, and (3) the examination of factors that have affected prior successes or failures in the decision process related to appropriate corrective actions and aspirations. Quite clearly, as Schramm acknowledges, the really basic decisions contained in communication messages, "are not merely communication strategies at all, but are economic and political and grounded deep in the nature of society."[19] While information acquired through message-centered research is more elusive than that accumulated in traditional chief-elements and experimental types of research, it is nevertheless the most important information needed today.

The Problem: Ecological Understanding and Its Relationship to Global Interactions

Like the Copernican Revolution in the sixteenth century, the present crisis in eco-patience is one of those epochal turning points in history when the human race is forced to see itself from a new angle of vision. Now that mankind is in the process of completing the colonization of the planet, people everywhere are asking if the developed world has a future beyond the close of the industrial era. The question is not whether humankind is going to exist, but whether people will retain the qualities that make them essentially human. What happens to people often happens to fish and plants first. When water becomes polluted only the lowest forms of fish life survive. When soil becomes leached out only weeds grow. In the same way human beings too may degenerate before they become extinct. If our perceptions and cultural patterns are not presently compatible with the preservation of planetary existence, they must be modified before action to maintain and save our social presence can occur. The response global opinion formulators give to this problem may well shape the state of the civilized world by the end of the twentieth century.

Complicated though the drawing of a new vision may be, it is not so impossible when one

understands the political balance between the different zones of influence that characterize the developing and developed powers of the world. To understand something about the differentials of wealth, power and privilege between the masses at the bottom and the small and visible ruling elite at the top is to understand something about the inadequacy of social and cultural value systems and of political institutions and mechanisms of social choice.

The central reality which must be understood is that national and trans-national socio-eco systems are caught up in an almost uncontrolled and rapid process of change. The growth of population since the time of Christ dramatizes the global nature of this change during the present century – a silent growth from about 250 million people in 33 A.D. to about one billion in 1900 and a catastrophic explosion to more than three billion in 1960. And, still more shocking, projections indicate a population overrun in excess of seven billion souls by the year 2,000 with concentrations in great metropolitan areas reaching unmanageable and dehumanizing proportions.[20] To nations of the world this poses a greater threat than anything we have experienced since the dawning of civilized time. People on every continent face catastrophe if we don't find a solution to the population problem that now threatens the world.

In the early 1950s when population was becoming a recognized social issue, opinion formulators in the developed world held the deplorably erroneous notion that the problem, if it existed at all, could be resolved with increasing technology. Everywhere the development of new techniques was promoted with religious zeal. As if almost blinded in their praise for the "new found metaphysics of the twentieth century," a new cult began to emerge known as "technocrats." Technical discovery was promoted by federally sponsored projects financed by National Science Foundation grants and the enrollment in technical fields of our colleges and universities ballooned.

The sudden interest in technique blossomed from two separate but converging forces in the 1950 society. First, social control was not much practiced and in many circles was strongly distrusted as a method for regulating population growth. In many ways the timing of public awareness of the population explosion was on a collision course with political institutions of the day. The "big brother is watching you" syndrom of George Orwell's *1984* helped reinforce the McCarthyites' allegations that a large number of communist sympathizers was about to take control of the government and regulate the lives of all the people – even the size of family a couple might rear. The *New York Times* and *Washington Post* both carried editorials opposing the introduction of a national population program then being discussed, and elsewhere the American Federation of Labor adopted a stand against government interference in the private lives of its citizens. Many of the charges against population planning lacked supporting evidence, but those who saw the coming society of Aldous Huxley's "World State" with its "Hatchery and Conditioning Centre" demanded little by way of proof.

Had public opinion been more enlightened during the early population debate, a less fatalistic view of population trends might be possible today. The flaw of the opponents of population planning is in their reasoning, not in their interest for freedom. A compendium of ideological illusions concerning planning and liberty contained in the population argument may be summarized as follows: technology increases production; production allows for the satisfaction of needs; the satisfaction of needs is a condition of freedom; therefore, conclude a priori, technology equals freedom.

For those following this line of reasoning the technique of "labor saving devices, wealth producing modes of production and life saving 'miracle drugs'" was the panacea for a world population without the introduction of centralized government planning. This reasoning is faulty on two counts: first, it is linear and does not take into account the complex conditions of Man. The first premise of this argument, technique increases production, fails to consider the human conditions made subservient to the production process. Production for the sake of production, especially when based on the profit motive, can be especially enslaving of the human condition. In effect, the necessity of technique is baptized in the name of freedom and all sacrifices in that name are made to seem worth the while. As such, technology acts like an autonomous force relatively independent of and more competent than the mere human beings who practice it. The loss of individual identity in the pursuance of yield and efficiency becomes the new authoritarian condition of man.

The method of technique is a second flaw. Technique is based on the scientific method and the scientific method is reductionist in nature. The ultimate of this analysis is Friedrich August von Hayek's claim that planning is an essential evil. While not many realists would adopt von Hayek's ultimate conclusion, which may account for only sketchy interest in his latest work *Road to Serfdom*, few who think openly about the scientific method can disregard the "tunnelled vision" it produces. The very endeavor of science attempts to boil down the identity of the problem to its least denominator and treat that denominator of concern to the exclusion of externalities associated with the treatment. Herein lies the problem, for technique which is based upon the scientific method is designed to treat single separate problems and fails to take into account the inevitable side effects that arise because in nature no part is isolated from the whole ecological fabric. "Unless we take the necessary steps to move human society out of the environment that 'technique' is creating to meet its own needs," says Robert Theobold in his review of *The Technological Society*, "technology, which we continue to conceptualize as the servant of man, will overthrow everything that prevents the internal logic of its development, including humanity itself."[21]

In addition to the constraints to rational management of population problems posed by less than complete knowledge of the technical and physical characteristics of ecosystems and their interrelations, even more formidable constraints are posed by the inadequacy of social and cultural value systems and of political institutions and mechanisms of social choice. Technology is needed, but so are new ways of calculating "costs," defining "progress," measuring "growth," and making economic, social and political decisions in the course of which attitudes, values, and even philosophical and religious perceptions will come into the decision.

In November, 1971, Edgardo Mercado Jarrin, the foreign minister of Peru, presented the case of the Third World to the General Assembly of the United Nations. Jarrin made clear that the problem of population for the world's poor cannot be separated from the character and policies of the developed countries, nor can the problem of population be dealt with in isolation from the extension of political and economic irresponsibility and exploitation to an international level.

Historically, however, the developed world has tended precisely toward those practices against which Jarrin warned. During the thirty years from 1945 to 1975, for example, the United States exceeded all known previous consumption aggregated over the history of humankind.[22] Although comprising only six percent of the world's population, the people of the United States annually consume thirty-seven percent of the world's natural resources.

Since the end of the second world war the population of the United States has increased approximately two percent per year, or about fifty percent for the twenty-five year time period between 1945 and 1970. Yet, during that same time period consumer oriented industrial production in the United States increased by one hundred forty percent.[23] In energy consumption the United States, with a population of 215 million, consumes as much electricity for air conditioning alone as China, with a population of over 700 million, consumes for all purposes.[24] A child born on this date to an average family in North America stands to produce as much solid waste in its lifetime as 311 children born on the same date to average families in Latin America, Africa, India and parts of Asia.[25] With increasing emphasis placed on consumer demands of the comfortable fifteen percent of the world's people, it is not difficult to see how little attention is paid to the status of the poor nations and their prospects for a better life. While population continues to be a world problem, inordinate production and consumption by the affluent few moves the developed world farther apart from the underdeveloped world.

In 1972 a team of seventeen scientists representing six nations joined together at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (M.I.T.) to study the effects on humankind if present growth trends continue. Their study, a computerized program titled *The Limits to Growth*, is based upon Jay W. Forrester's model of *World Dynamics* which incorporates five cornerstones of the world system interrelated through a series of continuous interacting feedback loops: population, capital investment for agriculture production, capital investment for industrial production, resources and pollution.

Using Forrester's model and drawing upon data of recent global growth patterns, the M.I.T. study derives four inescapable conclusions: first, if the present growth trends in world population, industrial production, pollution and resource depletion continue, the limits to growth on this planet will be reached sometime within the next one hundred years with the most likely date being about the year 2030; second, the most probable result will be a rather sudden and uncontrollable decline in both population and industrial capacity; third, the application of technology to the apparent problems of resource depletion or pollution or food shortages has no beneficial impact on the essential problem, which is exponential growth in a finite and complex natural system governed by the laws of nature; and fourth, the process of economic growth, as it is occurring today, is inexorably widening the absolute gap between the rich and the poor nations of the world."[26]

Thus, the "problem of problems" within the realm of international and intercultural transactions lies in the expressed struggle over incompatible interests in the limited resources of agricultural-industrial production and development. As demands increase for a more equitable share of global resources and a much improved standard of living for the eighty-five percent of the world's people who are poor, the question becomes one of how such development can take place in a finite system already plagued by approaching limits to growth without upsetting the ecological balance upon which all the world's people are precariously dependent. The M.I.T. study further concludes that to impose a brake on world demographic and economic growth spirals leading to a freeze of the *status quo* in economic development of the world's nations would be taken by the peoples of developing nations as a final, intolerable act of neo-colonialism."[27] Therefore, the study concludes, "the greatest leadership will be demanded from economically developed countries to encourage a deceleration in the growth of their own material output while, at the same time, assisting the developing nations in their efforts to advance their economies more rapidly."[28] Even if the

earth's physical system can support a larger and more economically developed population, the ultimate solution to the growth, no-growth disparity will depend on such factors as peace and social stability, education, health standards and employment.

At the present, no mandate or institutional setting exists for the level of supra-national assessment, planning and goal setting necessary for better balanced and more equitable use of global resources. Neither developed society's hard-headed attitude toward the virtues of unrestricted competition nor the "root hog or die" realism of pre-technical society will satisfactorily maintain eco-cultural existence for all people on our small planet. The image of Horatio Alger and the frontier mentality which have characterized so much of the developed world's international economic, political and military discourse across national and cultural boundaries will have to give way to the combined images of the "global village" (Marshall McLuhan) and "spaceship earth" (Kenneth Boulding) in national literary, educational and scientific endeavors. And, finally, technicians and physical scientists will have to learn to work with biologists and ecologists, with grass roots community people in diverse national and cultural settings and with others in our global society who share a concern for the value of future human existence. While establishing societal decisions to problems and translating such decisions into policy is the essence of the political process, few people in any society realize they are confronted with such choices each day, much less understand what those decisions ought to be.

Summary and Proposal

The disparity between have and have-not nations may be defined as a growing eco-imbalance in which the hyperactive, advanced economies extract more, produce more, consume more, and in the process produce more waste than the lesser developed; and because of the increasing dependency of the more advanced countries on raw materials from the lesser advanced countries, the former have become parasites feeding on the latter. During the past few years people who have looked at the world model on a global, long-term basis have reached the growing conviction that the world's economic, political and social systems are so complex and interrelated that traditional institutions of decision making are no longer able to cope with the full context of problems faced on a global scale.

In view of the integrality of natural phenomena and of social phenomena, global knowledge processes, composed of studies focusing on the gathering and processing of information and the disseminating of knowledge to all concerned, have not included "feedback" to the knowledge process itself. The ongoing appraisal of the correspondence of practice to goals has produced little effort toward and less achievement of a comprehensive and homogeneous formulation of all the problems related to our natural environment. The multidimensional changes needed in public policy-making systems urgently require new understanding of value and belief systems that meet the new global role of humankind in changing the face of the earth. As *The Limits to Growth* remarks, "The final, most elusive and most important information we need deals with human values. As soon as society recognizes that it cannot maximize everything for everyone, it must begin to make choices."[29] If people have not hitherto recognized the extent of their planetary interdependency, it was in part at least because their value system gave them only a clouded vision of the ultimate consequences for the satisfaction of immediate wants.

Fundamental human commitments and attitudes are an essential part of communication practices. Communication utterances use language in a distinctive way that gives voice to our deepest and most pervasive hopes, ideals and wishes concerning what we are and should try to be and what expectations we entertain. In *Conceptual Frontiers in Speech Communication* it is noted that the symbolic transmission of messages has been the central focus of speech communication studies. Darnell elaborates upon this view by arguing that "it is also quite apparent that the effects of symbolic transmission cannot be separated from the effects of other influences on man's behavior."[30]

Therefore, this paper proposes that the Commission on International and Intercultural Communication meeting at the next annual convention of the Speech Communications Association initiate a massive investigation of the communication patterns of the dominate opinion formulators in the developed world for purposes of discovering those value premises underlying international-intercultural interactions and their relationship to and responsibility for current trends in global ecological quality. This action in convention should include the endorsement of such a study with the full and cooperative backing of the C.I.I.C. and the establishment of a national steering committee to undertake the design and direction of such a study and to promote its functions including the securing of necessary funding through the assistance of the national Speech Communication Association offices. The design of this study should include identification of the important areas of influence in international and intercultural communication transactions relative to important zones of influence in dealings with ecological considerations (the business community, the educational community, religious organizations, etc.) and should adopt a systematic method of value examination for purposes of investigating the message patterns contained in such transactions. As a final consequence of this investigation the C.I.I.C. should seek avenues for disseminating and popularizing its findings to the public at large, including the carrying out of specific courses of "action research" for implementing corrective proposals.

In considering the problems of *Culture and Communication*, Robert Oliver of Pennsylvania State University noted more than a decade ago that "if the speech profession is to make a helpful contribution to internationalism – if we are to be able to help . . . do a better job in our multiple and ever-increasing dealings around the world – . . . we shall have to . . . commence using . . . many different modes of thinking, many different standards of value, many different ways in which influence must be exerted if it is to be effective."[31] This proposal is intended as a move in the direction of helpful internationalism.

FOOTNOTES

[1]W. Phillips Davison and Alexander L. George, "An Outline for the Study of International and Political Communication" in *International Communication: Media, Channels, Functions*, Heinz-Dietrich Fischer and John C. Merrill, eds. (New York: Hastings House, Publishers, Inc., 1970), pp. 461-62.

[2]*Ibid.*, p. 463.

[3]Donald M. MacKay, "Communication and Meaning – A Functional Approach" in *Cross-Cultural Understanding: Epistemology in Anthropology*, F.S.C. Northrop and Helen H. Livingston, eds. (New York: Harper and Row, Publishers, 1964), p. 163.

[4]John C. Condon and Fathi S. Yousef, *An Introduction to Intercultural Communication* (Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1975), p. 227.

[5]Herbert W. Simons, "Prologue" in *Perspectives on Communication in Social Conflict*, Gerald R. Miller and Herbert W. Simons, eds. (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1974), p. 10.

[6]*Ibid.*, p. 11.

[7]Vincent L. Bloom, "Pragmatism: The Choice of a Critical Perspective for Communication Inquiry," *Western Speech* (Winter, 1975), pp. 2-3.

[8]Simons, p. 10.

[9]*Ibid.*, p. 8.

[10]Edward D. Steele, "Social Values, the Enthymeme, and Speech Criticism," *Western Speech* (Spring, 1962), p. 75.

[11]Dean Barnlund, "Toward a Meaning-Centered Philosophy of Communication," *Journal of Communication* (December, 1962), p. 200.

[12]Gregory Bateson, "Information, Codification, and Metacommunication," in *Communication and Culture*, Alfred G. Smith, ed. (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1966), p. 417.

[13]F.S.C. Northrop, "The Raison d'Etre of the Inquiry" in *Cross-Cultural Understanding: Epistemology in Anthropology*, F.S.C. Northrop and Helen H. Livingston, Eds. (New York: Harper and Row, Publishers, 1964), p. 5.

[14]F.S.C. Northrop, "The Relevance of Neurophysiology for Anthropology" in *Cross-Cultural Understanding: Epistemology in Anthropology*, F.S.C. Northrop and Helen H. Livingston, eds. (New York: Harper and Row, Publishers, 1964), p. 349.

[15]MacKay, p. 169.

[16]F.S.C. Northrop, *The Meeting of East and West*, (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1947), p. 436.

[17]*Ibid.*

[18]MacKay, p. 170.

[19]Wilbur Schramm, "Communication and Change" in *Communication and Change in the Developing Countries*, Daniel Lerner and Wilbur Schramm, eds. (Honolulu, East-West Center Press, 1972), p. 27.

[20]see Donald J. Bozue, *Principles of Demography* (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1969). See also U.N. Department of Economic and Social Affairs, "The World Population Situation in 1970" (New York: United Nations, 1971).

[21]cited in *The Nation* (1968) p. 428.

[22]see Simon Kuznets, *Economic Growth of Nations* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1971).

[23]*Ibid.*

[24]see U.N. Department of Economic and Social Affairs, *Statistical Year Book 1969* (New York: United Nations, 1970).

[25]see *Second Annual Report of the Council on Environmental Quality* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1971).

[26]Donella H. Meadows, Dennis L. Meadows, Jorgen Randers, William W. Behrens, *The Limits to Growth* (Chicago: Signet Books, 1972), pp. 29, 50, and 152.

[27]*Ibid.*, p. 198.

[28]*Ibid.*

[29]*Ibid.*, p. 186.

[30]Donald K. Darnell, "Toward a Reconceptualization of Communication," *The Journal of Communication* (March, 1971), p. 15.

[31]Robert T. Oliver, *Culture and Communication* (Springfield, Ill.: Charles C. Thomas, Publishers, 1962), p. 19.

LANGUAGE AND ETHNICITY IN INTERGROUP COMMUNICATION

Edna L. Koenig

Much of the literature on intercultural communication has been concerned with the communication process at an abstract level or from a programmatic standpoint. The examination of the communication process in actual intercultural or intergroup situations has received little attention. Nor has the study of social meaning of the languages involved or the selection of a particular language or dialect, as exemplified in the work of Labov[1] and Blom and Gumperz,[2] been well considered in discussions of intercultural communication. A case study of intergroup communication in the multilingual speech community of Corozal, Belize (formerly British Honduras), illustrates the importance of concepts such as the role and social meaning of language in intercultural communication situations. The need for a historical approach to language usage and an understanding of the social context in order to explain present-day communication patterns is also shown.

Historical Background

The town of Corozal, Belize, is the administrative seat and commercial center for the most northern district of Belize. Although the British colonized British Honduras, initial settlement of the town and district of Corozal resulted from its proximity to Mexico. The borders of this district are contiguous with Mexico on the north and west with the Caribbean Ocean determining the eastern boundary. This area was not settled until 1849 when the Caste War occurred in neighboring Yucatan. At that time mestizo refugees (hereinafter referred to as Spanish) crossed the border and established the town of Corozal. The rural area of the district was gradually populated by different groups of Maya who fled the Yucatan.[3]

From the beginning of the Spanish settlement of Corozal Town, the cultivation of sugar was encouraged by absentee British landowners of the area. This policy resulted in the establishment of a number of small sugar haciendas and the economic dependence of the people on a monocrop. It also permitted the continuation of the same patterns of social stratification in Corozal Town as those practiced by the Spanish in Mexico, i.e., a feudal aristocracy. The few Creoles in the town were mostly in some type of government administrative service or stationed with the troops which garrisoned the town's fort. In the rural area, the Maya eked out a living on subsistence agriculture. The men earned a small amount of cash through seasonal employment on sugar haciendas and in the gathering of chicle during the period this latter industry flourished.

From the early settlement period until the 1940's, there was a rigid system of social stratification in the town. Among the Spanish (mestizo) and the Maya living in the town, this stratification took the form of both residential and social segregation on the basis of socio economic status. The Creoles were treated as a separate group although not residentially segregated. The Mayan villagers, who had little contact with the townspeople, were considered to be at the bottom of the social ladder. During this period, the Spanish culture was dominant in Corozal Town. Spanish was the principal language for intergroup communication amoung all of the residents of Corozal, with the Creoles even referred to as Spanish Black. Although the villagers' first language was Maya, they employed only Spanish in their contact with the townspeople. Only in the institutional areas over which the colonial government exerted a strong influence, i.e., in administrative and legal matters and in education, was English spoken in intergroup communication situations in the town.

Reportedly, mostly Spanish was used in the village schools.

Social Context

Today the nature of the community in Corozal Town is considerably different. The establishment of a sugar factory in 1937 and its modernization in 1955 gave an impetus to sugarcane production. More and more small farmers in the villages began to grow cane. As a result, the owners of the sugar haciendas began to lose their economic control in the district. The continuing growth of the sugar industry has also resulted in rapid economic development of the entire district. Of most importance for intergroup communication has been the construction of a network of all-weather roads and an increase in numbers of persons who own trucks or automobiles, thereby increasing the contact between the different villages and between the villagers and townspeople. This rapid economic development has also encouraged the immigration of a large number of Creoles into the district and, to a lesser extent, Caribs. There was additional immigration when Corozal Town had to be rebuilt after its destruction by Hurricane Janet in 1956. The town now has a population of approximately 5,000 persons, of whom 60 percent are Spanish and 20 percent are Creoles; the other 20 percent is made up of persons of mixed ethnic background, Caribs and East Indians. This last group initially settled in several villages near Corozal Town and speak English/Creole as a first language.

The change in the ethnic makeup of the community has substantially changed the social stratification patterns of the community. Within the Spanish group, there are still vestiges of the feudal aristocratic system. There continues to be a self-classified group of Spanish elite who follow a certain life style in order to set themselves apart from the rest of the community. This group is made up mostly of descendants of the early aristocracy, which has tended to intermarry. Family names and relationships serve to identify this group, with family background rather than economic position the main criterion for elite membership.

Although this view of a vertical class structure in the community is restricted to the Spanish, not all of the Spanish are in agreement about the individuals who have membership in the elite social class or even the criteria for membership. And while the Spanish deny that there is any social division on the basis of ethnicity, Creoles and Caribs are never assigned by the Spanish to the elite class. Conversely, those Creoles and Caribs who are in high income brackets consider economic position to be the main criterion for membership in the upper class, thereby including themselves in the group. The balance of the Creoles and Caribs see the community as divided on ethnic lines. Thus, some of the members see the community as divided horizontally on the basis of ethnic membership only while another group maintains the community is divided vertically on the basis of socioeconomic class—but speak of only one ethnic group in this context and totally ignore the other groups. This lack of consensus is in accord with Barth's[4] thesis that ethnic identity, when it is regarded as a status, becomes superordinate to other statuses.

Linguistic Context

The importance implicitly given to ethnic status by the members of the Corozal community is the key to understanding the nature and patterns of intergroup communication. While the Spanish language still plays a considerable role and is the one language shared by the highest

percentage of persons in the district and with the neighboring Mexicans, it no longer dominates the linguistic scene. Rather, in intergroup situations, the residents have the choice of three languages, Standard English, Creole (English based) or Spanish. Such choice is not random, however. Observation of language usage in intergroup social interaction situations and a survey of language usage revealed a set of underlying rules[5] for language selection to which all of the members of the community conform.

In order to determine the rules for language selection in a multilingual speech community, it was first necessary to establish the number of persons in the community who actually had more than one language available to them. Through the language survey (1 out of every 5 houses), it was found that 88 percent of the sample of 286 persons were, to some degree, bilingual. Of this percentage, 8 percent were bilingual in Spanish and Maya only; the balance were bilingual in Spanish and English/Creole although 16 percent claimed they only understood English but could not speak it. In the villages, there is bilingualism in Spanish and Maya. It is estimated that less than half of the villagers speak or understand English on the basis of surveys in two villages. In one of the villages, 28 percent of the sample spoke and understood English while another 36 percent were able to understand some English. In the second more remote village, none of the people spoke or understood English. With respect to the differentiation between speaking and understanding a language, it should be noted that all of the above percentages of bilingualism do not indicate a complete mastery of the grammatical structure of a language nor possesion of an extensive vocabulary in a second language.

The survey in Corozal Town also revealed that there was a very high percentage of loyalty to one's first language and that usage of a second language was reserved exclusively for intergroup communication situations. Indeed, over 50 percent of the sample expressed dislike for one or more of the other languages in the community even though they might be bilingual in a language they did not like. In sum, the responses to questions on language attitudes revealed that negative feelings toward other ethnic groups were transferred to the first languages of such groups. Language thus becomes an important symbol of ethnic identity in keeping with the fact that ethnicity has been given a superordinate status by members of the community.

Further, through questions in the survey regarding participation in community activities and through personal observation of such activities, it was found that the social interaction among the different ethnic groups is highly restricted. The greatest amount of intergroup interaction takes place in the economic sector. As would be expected, the least interaction occurs at the purely social level. Interaction in other areas of community activity is on a discontinuous basis. Intergroup contact is confined to a specific, usually small group within the populace with few people participating regularly in more than a limited number of intergroup contact situations.

Language Usage in Intergroup Communication

Although intergroup interaction is restricted, there has had to be a consensus on language selection for intergroup situations in that one ethnic group no longer dominates the community's activities. Given the attitudes by each group toward other languages and other ethnic groups, the underlying rules for intergroup communication have been resolved to

minimize potential conflict. For persons who live in Corozal Town, the general rule is that the person who speaks first and, therefore, makes the selection of the language to be used, will use the other person's first language if the speakers are not in frequent contact. If the person is a stranger to the community, language is selected on the basis of the stranger's physical appearance and assumed first language.

Besides the key variable of ethnic identity, there are an additional three variables which may operate on occasion in the choice of language. These variables are shared verbal codes, relative fluency and latent message. These three variables may be applied in language selection in the following situations:

1. Shared Verbal Codes – Because most of the people in Corozal are bilingual, this is generally not a variable which is applied. However, because the town is small, it is known which members of the community are monolingual, and language selection is made accordingly. In the case of outsiders, when such persons become known to the community, knowledge that there are shared verbal codes permits selection of a language on the basis of its symbolic status. For example, a local person can elect to discard a language associated with formality and colonial rule in the case of Standard English and use either Spanish or Creole as a means of indicating a feeling of group solidarity and friendship. In such cases the outsider becomes acknowledged as a member of the community in an indirect fashion. Where persons of different ethnic groups are in constant interaction, as in a daily work situation, and where they are all bilingual and equally fluent in two languages, the first language held in common by the majority becomes the language used.

2. Relative Fluency – This becomes an important variable in intergroup communication when the speakers have frequent contact. In such cases, if a person assesses the other as being more fluent in a second language than is the first speaker, the first speaker's first language may be selected as the customary language for communication.

3. Latent Message– The fourth variable that explains language selection or a switch from one language to another during a conversation is one of conveying a latent message.6 By switching from the use of the language expected in keeping with the community's rules for verbal behavior, an emotion such as friendship, insult or humor can be conveyed without being verbally expressed. Because of language attitudes in the community and the members' awareness of these attitudes, quite often this variable operates most successfully within an intragroup situation to convey a latent message, i.e., in insults.

In intergroup communication between villager and townspeople, the underlying rules for verbal behavior and the variables for language selection differ somewhat. However, there is community consensus about communicating with a slightly different set of rules. As noted above, many villagers do not speak English. Those who do speak English are generally reluctant to do so. Therefore, Spanish is the language selected for all intergroup communication between villagers and townspeople regardless of who speaks first. If the townsman cannot speak Spanish, he may elect to assume the villager understands some

English and try to communicate in English. The villager may respond in Spanish; but seldom will he respond in English even if he can do so. With respect to the Mayan language, it is rarely used in town in that it is specifically reserved for communication among fellow Mayeros.

Application of Rules for Verbal Behavior

Following are two diagrams which illustrate the selection of language using variables of ethnic identities and shared verbal codes. In the first diagram, the American designated as American A had been in the community for a number of months and had become accepted as a member of the community. Therefore, many of the Spanish preferred to converse in Spanish with American A in accordance with the variable of shared verbal codes. American B was new to the community. In this diagrammed conversation amond three persons in two languages, all three persons were bilingual in English and Spanish:

Diagram 1

In the second diagram, the intergroup communication situation occurred during the visit of a Health Clinic mobil unit to a village. Living in the village were two Canadian missionaries. Both the Canadians and the American spoke Spanish, and all four of the Health Unit personnel were bilingual in English/Creole and Spanish. Because three of the Health Unit staff spoke English/Creole as a first language, this was the language that had become customary for them to use in their work situation even though there was a Spanish staff person with the group. None of the village women spoke English or gave any indication they understood English. However, the women were bilingual in Maya and Spanish and some of the older women elected to use Maya in speaking to each other.

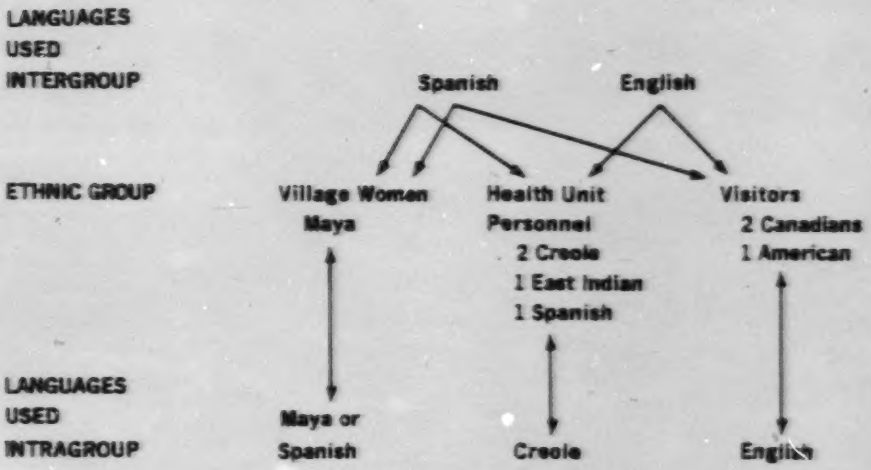

Diagram 2

To illustrate the limited communication that occurs when speakers do not share verbal codes or have only a limited comprehension or relative fluency, following is a short transcript of a conversation which took place in a shop in Corozal. The customer was a village woman who apparently understood some English but elected to speak only in Spanish. This verbal behavior is consistent with the rules for verbal behavior when the intergroup contact is between townspeople and villagers. The storekeeper was a Chinese who spoke good English but only limited Spanish. The American was bilingual in English and Spanish. As can be seen, inasmuch as neither the villager nor shopkeeper had a high degree of fluency in one shared verbal code, one speaker, the shopkeeper, had to shift back and forth between languages in order to achieve better understanding.

S=ShopKeeper V=Village Customer A=American

S: You wan this sack or this one?

V: Esta mejor esto porque yo voy lejos.
(This one is better because I am going far.)

S: Esta sofa, esta sofa, hunh? (This is a sofa. Here he combines Spanish and English. What he really wishes to indicate is that the woman can sit on the sack.)

S: (addressing A): You see, you ten to them and you hurry.

A: Estaba viendo. (I was noticing. Here Spanish was selected because the village woman was included in the conversation and had already signaled her preference for Spanish.)

V: Eso, como yo voy lejos. (This, i.e., her action in selecting a bag, as I am going far.)

A: Si. (Yes.)

S: Lejo. By foot, es lejo, by car es . . . (Far. By foot, it is far, by car it is . . .)

V: Eso no. Pero siempre se puede rompa el papel. No quiero.
(This no. But always it is possible to tear the paper.
I do not want this.)
They both laugh indicating both had understood each other.

Summary

The underlying rules for language selection in intergroup communication situations in a multilingual speech community have been described above. This study demonstrates the need for attention to be given to the role of language in such communication situations. In the District of Corozal the role of language is far greater than merely providing referential meaning in intergroup communication situations. Instead, the first language of each ethnic group has come to symbolize or mark the ethnic identity of that group. This study also illustrates the need to understand the social situation in which the intergroup communication occurs.

In this particular study, the present-day social context and the superordinate status accorded by the community to ethnic identity were not explainable unless one adopted a historical approach. Only through a study of the change in the ethnic makeup of the town's populace over time and the accompanying changes in social class patterns did the present importance of ethnic identity become understandable. Because the social nature of the community has recently undergone a rapid change, members of the community do not totally accept other ethnic groups. Therefore, social interaction between the groups is highly restricted. Nevertheless, intergroup communication must take place. To minimize conflict, the key variable in selecting the language to be used is the ethnic identity of the other person. That person's first language is then selected for the communication event.

The other three variables identified as being applied serve to explain variations observed in the selection of language; but these variables are of secondary importance to the variable of ethnic identity. The variable of relative fluency only occurs if members of different ethnic groups interact over a period of time. The variable of latent message is applied as much in intragroup communication as it is in intergroup situations.

Lastly, this study illustrates a need to examine specifically the social situation in which intergroup communication occurs. Because such communication in Corozal Town is largely confined to economic activities, there need be far less facility in a second language than would be true for other types of intergroup communication situations. The type of dialogue that occurred in the shop is not unusual in Corozal. Because of negative attitudes toward other ethnic groups and the groups' first languages as well as restricted social interaction, there is little motivation to achieve a better mastery of a second language. As far as the speakers are concerned, they have communicated successfully during an intergroup communicative event if they achieve their objective, such as making a purchase. This

treatment of communication by the Corozal community not only shows that intercultural communication must be studied in different types of social contexts but also that different levels of language proficiency need to be considered in discussions of such communication.

FOOTNOTES

[1]William Labov *The Social Stratification of English in New York City* (Washington, D.C.: Center for Applied Linguistics, 1966).

[2]Jans-Petter Blom and John J. Gumperz, "Social Meaning in Linguistic Structures: Code–Switching in Norway," in *Directions in Sociolinguistics*, ed. John J. Gumperz and Dell Hymes (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1972), pp. 409–434.

[3]Nelson Reed, *The Caste War of Yucatan* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1964), pp. 115, 171, and 205.

[4]Frederick Barth, ed., *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1969), p. 17.

[5]The establishment of underlying rules is based on social interaction theory. For a discussion of this approach, see Erving Goffman, *Relations in Public* (New York: Harper and Row, 1972), pp. ix-xvi. Rules for interchanges in Chapters 4 and 5 are particularly good illustrations of the social interaction approach.

[6]Susan M. Ervin-Trip., "On Sociolinguistic Rules: Alternation and Co-occurrence," in *Directions in Sociolinguistics*, ed. John J. Gumperz and Dell Hymes (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1972), pp. 244–145.

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INTERCULTURAL COMMUNICATION VISTAS: DESCRIPTION, CONCEPT, AND THEORY

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Speech communication as a field of inquiry has expanded from a largely historical, case-study explanation to the point that it has the veneer of a social science. Historical research did not provide accumulative knowledge which was generalizable beyond particular forms of human behavior in particularized regions of interaction. "Confronted with another singular event, the historian must marshal new explanations, doing this endlessly for each new event. What he has learned about the antecedents of one event are not applicable in explaining another event."[1] Social science methods, on the other hand generate theories rather than the explanations provided by historical research. Theory is concerned with, "...modeling the processes and outcomes of particular units interacting in systems, whenever these systems exist and under all conditions of their existence."[2] Theoretical models help dispose of the nagging problem of the uniqueness of communication events.

TOWARD A THEORY

The transition from an historical to a social science approach has been capricious at best. Many developments and innovations in the social science approach have been reactions against the historical approach. Reactions to historical traditions seem to have spawned research favoring a "new explanation." Homans warned social scientists about *contra-theorizing* and the deleterious results, "Modern social science has been so sensitive to the charge that its findings are old or obvious, so ready to go out of its way to show how common-sense explanations are wrong, that it has ended by painting a picture of man that men cannot recognize."[3] Communication researchers must not over-react to their past and common sense to the degree that we do not recognize the man we strive to describe.

COMMUNICATION REVOLUTION. Matson and Montagu described the reorganization and restructuring of human communication theories as an unfinished revolution. The revolution was characterized by advances in technology and human scientific methods. A theory of communication was described as, "...the manner in which we gain understanding of the world – in particular, the world of other selves."[4] Though recent attempts to reorganize and restructure the approaches of speech communication have sought to conceptualize the field, Dance cited fifteen definitions which splintered the field into multiplicative and contradictory approaches. Loose concepts of communication are symptomatic of the amorphous nature of the field of speech communication, "The looseness of the concept of communication is reflected in the looseness of the field or fields indentified with the study of communication [e.g. intercultural communication]. In many ways such diversity is enriching, but such diversity can also lead to dissention, academic sniping, and theoretical divisiveness."[5] Dance reinforced Matson's and Montagu's contention that there is a communication revolution and that the revolution remains unfinished. The state of the speech communication science is pre-paradigmatic for we have yet to establish what Kuhn identified as "normal science." Divisiveness may continue to characterize the field so long as we grope for a paradigm – a unified, theoretical approach to human communication behavior.

INTERCULTURAL COMMUNICATION. The objective of intercultural communication research is to understand the nature of communication across cultural boundaries through an understanding of the cultural attribute. Culture is defined here as an attribute of human communication rather than a variable. Culture is always a salient constituent of the communication – not varying in degrees. An *attribute* was defined by Dubin as, ". . .a property of a thing distinguished by the quality of being present. The thing always has this quality if the attribute is a property of the thing."[6] Variables on the other hand are present in degrees or not present at all. Communication and culture are inseparable, each functioning as an attribute of the other.

The interdependence and mutual influences of communication and culture remain a mystery. This relationship will require clarification as the study of intercultural communication emerges as an adjunct of the speech communication science. Descriptive methods of science must be the focus of intercultural communication for theories are built upon the properties of phenomena. The properties and attributes of communication and culture must first be clarified. "In every discipline, but particularly in its early stages of development, purely descriptive research is indispensable. Descriptive research is the stuff out of which the mind of man, the theorist, develops the units that compose his theories."[7] Unfortunately description in social sciences and speech communication are lowly valued. Kaplan refuted this devaluation of description by stating that, "Careful observation and shrewd even if unformalized inference have by no means outlived their day. I am not saying that there is any necessary antithesis between riches and rigor, but only that it would be equally wrong to take it for granted that there is necessarily a correspondence between them. If there *is* a choice to be made, for the empirical scientist there is in fact no choice but to go for the riches."[8]

Adequate description of the interaction of communication and culture may assist researchers in understanding the role of these complex systems and the broad relationships among other variables. We don't understand things as wholes and we don't build theories around things as wholes. Rather we break things down in order that man's capacity to grasp complex relationships is not taxed and we are freed from the responsibility of divining the "essence" of the thing. "Without adequate description, we would not have models that connect with the world that man perceives and about which he theorizes."[9] Description of attributes is prerequisite to an accurate model or theory of relationships between systems.

THEORY BUILDING

A theoretical approach to any scientific inquiry is desirable to direct the efforts of researchers in generating hypotheses. A theory functions as, ". . .a research directive; theory guides the collection of data and their subsequent analysis, by showing us beforehand where the data are to be fitted, and what we are to make of them when we get them."[10] Presently there is no coherent tradition to guide the collection and analysis of data in intercultural communication research. A paradigm is needed to describe phenomena by directing the work of scientists in what Kuhn called *normal science*, ". . .normal scientific research is directed to the articulation of those phenomena and theories that the paradigm already supplies."[11] Attempts to conceptualize the macrocosm of speech communication and the microcosm of intercultural communication have neither produced a paradigm nor coherent traditions of normal science.

COMMON LANGUAGE. The genesis of theory building concerns the use of a common language in order that theorists have communication among themselves. Intercultural communication theorists have not developed a common language and seem unable to agree upon a definition of intercultural communication. Homans noted that a lack of common language was a stumblingblock in the progress of social science theory when he said, "Because of the variety of theoretical languages in which propostitions have been stated, social scientists have failed to appreciate how many different times some of the same ones have been rediscovered."[12] Scientific progress relies upon common symbols and language for communication. That intercultural communication theorists have no such commonality in language is a travesty on the goal of effective communication to which we address ourselves.

A system of symbols and references in intercultural communication research may expedite the development of categories and conceptual schema which lead to the goal of theoretical development. Bormann reinforced the relationship of categories, concepts, and scientific progress when he said, "The setting up of classes in such a way that knowledge can be ordered, related, and explained is dependent upon concept formation."[13] Conceptual schema should not be confused, however, with a theory. A science needs, ". . .a set of general propositions about the relations between the categories, for without such propositions explanation is impossible."[14] A theory embellishes relations among conceptual categories. The lack of a common language and conceptual scheme precludes propositions explaining relationships of intercultural communication categories and theoretical development lending itself to unified traditions of research.

Theories lend power to the classes of knowledge created through the conceptualization of a field. Power is achieved through the classification of knowledge, conceptualization of relationships among phenomena, and precision in research methods. Dubin recognized the advantages of theoretical constructs when he explained, "A theoretical model that focuses on the analysis of processes of interaction may contribute significantly to understanding. This understanding may be achieved by limiting the system being analyzed, by simplifying its variables and/or laws of interaction among them, and by focusing on broad relationships among variables."[15] The fact that theoretical constructs organize knowledge cannot be denied, but the organization of knowledge also changes the content of the knowledge. He went on to say that, "A theory is a model of some segment of the observable world. Such a model describes the face appearance of the phenomenon in such terms as structures, textures, forms, and operations. In order that such a model be considered dynamic, it also describes how the phenomenon works, how it functions."[16] Intercultural communication theorists will be challenged to develop theoretical constructs having functional validity, accurately describing the process. And accurate description of the phenonena may give way to increased understanding of individuals across cultural boundaries through effective intercultural communication transactions.

RE-EVALUATION OF ASSUMPTIONS. Many intercultural theorists assume that improved communication between cultural sub-groups will improve relations and facilitate conflict resolution. But the resolution of conflicts between cultural sub-groups is not as simple as opening the channels of communication between the conflicting parties. Improved communication may contribute to the resolution of conflicts or contribute to increased hostility. Special conditions help determine whether conflicts will be resolved or expanded.

Etzioni indicated that similarities of values contribute to resolution, whereas, dissimilarities of values and sentiments may be highlighted by communication. Communication between dissimilar parties, "...makes the parties more conscious of the deep cleavages that separate them, and increases hostilities."[17] The assumption that increased communication creates increased similarities which result in decreased hostility must be re-evaluated.

Intercultural communication theorists must understand the nature of the culture of individuals to determine the likelihood of their success in resolving conflicts between cultural sub-groups. DeVos and Hippler recognized the influence of culture upon individuals as well as societies stating that, "Present-day approaches to culture are most often concerned with the influence of culture on the structure and function of comparatively viewed societies. The concept of culture is also used as a means of understanding the influence of different social environments on psychological structures."[18] The miriad of current approaches to intercultural communication seems aimless as the effects of culture have not been clearly conceptualized and there is no systematic explanation of the cultural variable upon human communication.

The time has come for intercultural theorists to examine their work in light of accomplishments and undone problems. "It is wise of any science," said Linton, "to pause from time to time and sum up what it has already accomplished, the problems which are perceived but still unsolved, and the inadequacies of its current techniques."[19] A major problem in intercultural communication is the lack of theoretical development. This problem is confounded by the fact that there seems to be no theoretical models contending for the monolithic position of a paradigm. Theory building in intercultural communication may be maximized by examining assumptions of order and conflict approaches to societal life.

PROVOCATIVE THEORETICAL MODELS

Communication and culture systems are so complex that no single approach may suffice for building a theory, especially in the early stages of intercultural communication research. For this reason I suggest order and conflict approaches to intercultural communication as potential resources for common questions which could lead to a unified research tradition. Researchers may develop a common societal model, "The analyst of society begins with a mental picture of its structure. For the scientist, this image (or model) influences what he looks for, what he sees, and how he explains the phenomena that occurs within the society."[20] Order and conflict approaches may not unify intercultural researchers around *one structure*, but may serve to direct research in complementary dimensions of inquiry. Kaplan warned that there is danger in working with too few models rather than too many. Competition between theoretical models is desirable, "...the tendency of several scholars to focus on the same analytical problem has a stulifying consequence...science makes progress by competition and not by consensus..."[21] Competition between order and conflict approaches may facilitate the development of a theoretical model in intercultural communication research.

I am convinced that neither the order nor conflict approach is the sole repository of truth concerning the systems explaining intercultural communication. But an analysis of their assumptions and research efforts to prove or disprove either model may simplify the

complexity of intercultural systems and facilitate understanding, prediction, and control in interaction. The progress of intercultural theory may be realized by embracing, eliminating, or combining these approaches. "Scientific advance," according to Kaplan, "depends as much on its misses as on its hits; if it did not, progress would be slow indeed, for error is much more frequent than truth. Learning in general is surely most effective when it profits from failure as much as from success."[22]

Figure 1 contrasts the assumptions of the order and conflict approaches to social life. The differences between these assumptions indicate that the approaches offer contradictory conceptual models of social systems.

ORDER APPROACH. The order approach to social life focuses upon the bonds of harmony and cooperation which make society highly integrated. A basic consensus is assumed to exist on societal norms and values. Harmony and stability are characteristics which are imputed by order theorists to explain the strain of societal sub-groups toward egalitarian relationships. Societies are described as systems characterized by, ". . .cohesion, consensus, cooperation, reciprocity, stability, and persistence. Societies are viewed as systems, composed of parts that are linked together into a boundary-maintaining whole. The parts of the system are basically in harmony with each other."[24] The focus of this approach is the *bond* and the *boundary* which contribute to the cohesion of the social parts. Thus, when social problems arise the order theorist analyzes the broken bond and variables of the boundary relationships which made the disorder manifest.

Figure 1

The Duality of Social Life: The Assumptions of the Order and Conflict Models of Society[23]

	Order Model	Conflict Model
Question:	What is the fundamental relationship among the parts of society?	
Answer:	Harmony and Cooperation.	Competition and Conflict.
Why:	The parts have complementary interests. Basic consensus on societal norms and values.	The things people want are always in short supply. Basic dissensus on societal norms and values.
Degrees of Integration:	Highly integrated.	Loosely integrated. whatever integration is achieved is the result of force and fraud.
Type of Social Change:	Gradual, adjustive, and reforming.	Abrupt and revolutionary.
Degree of Stability:	Stable.	Unstable.

Individuals within the social context are placed on a continuum between the extreme poles of adherents to the societal norms on the one hand or deviants from the social norms on the other. Deviant individuals do not conform to the social norms and disturb the routine functioning of society. Order theorists focus upon deviants and deviant behavior by asking, "Who are the deviants? What are their social and psychological backgrounds? With whom do they associate?"[25] Means of rehabilitating the deviant are sought in order that the source of social problems, deviants, be dealt with directly. Rehabilitated deviants, it is assumed, will adhere to social norms and the harmony of society will be restored.

CONFLICT APPROACH. The focus of conflict theorists contradicts the assumptions of order theorists. Competition and conflict are highlighted as answers to the fundamental relationship among the parts of society. Dissensus is identified as the norm of society rather than consensus. The nature of dissensus accounts for the loosely integrated American society and consensus is perceived as the result of force or fraud. Consensus is described as, ". . .the less desirable category of social confrontation where one socio-ethnic group is stronger, forcing the weaker to comply with its will. Compliance could be rationalized as the 'greatest good' because it benefits more people. 'Good' in this case is defined by the group exerting the power over another, less powerful group."[26] Social changes which occur in societies characterized by *consensus of this variety* would be abrupt and revolutionary – yielding an unstable system of relationships among the parts of the society.

Conflict theorists indict the focus of order theorists because it is misdirected. According to conflict theorists, the social system is the problem and the individual is a victim of the ills of society. Order theorists are perceived to, ". . .locate the symptom, not the disease. Individual deviants are a manifestation of a failure of society to meet the needs of individuals."[27] Conflict theorists on the other hand would butcher the sacred cow of order theorists. "The established system, in this view [conflict approach] is not 'sacred.' Since it is the primary source of social problems, it, not the individual deviant, must be restructured."[28] Conflict theorists seek to revolutionize the societal structure in order that the needs of individuals be satisfied. Deviants are individuals who breach societal norms because of inequities in the societal structure.

Order and conflict approaches each address valid points regarding problems in the social system. First, the concept of social system indicates that there is a modicum of stability between parts of the society. Yet societies are in process, ever changing never inert. Second, social organization requires some tacit agreement on the parts of individuals. But the existence of social organization creates channels for expressing conflict and dissensus. Third, changes constantly occur in the structure of society. Some changes are gradual, covering long periods of time, and other changes occur abruptly. Neither approach can exclusively explain the nature of social systems nor functions that are served for individuals. Each approach is a source of hypotheses to test regarding descriptions of the nature of social systems and the role that individuals and intercultural communication play in the social structure.

SUMMARY

Intercultural communication is a sub-field of speech communication that focuses upon the nature of communication transactions across cultural boundaries. Culture is an attribute of intercultural communication rather than a variable for an individual's cultural component

does not vary in greater or lesser degrees. The features of an individual's culture do change, however, depending upon learning, experience, and motivation. Communication and culture grow together as systems which emerge simultaneously having mutual influences upon one another.

Intercultural communication research should describe the interdependence of communication and culture. Careful observation and astute analysis of communication and culture promise to assist researchers in understanding the interaction of these complex systems and the broad relationships of other variables. Given adequate description a theoretical model could be a contigency. Nevertheless that contigency will require concerted efforts on the parts of intercultural theorists in theory building with emphasis upon: (1) the development of a common conceptual language; and (2) re-evaluation of assumptions held by many intercultural theorists.

Order and conflict approaches to societal life are potential resources for theoretical models in intercultural communication research. Competition between these contradictory models of societal life is desirable because science makes progress by competition. Order theorists ascribe the characteristics of cohesion and stability to social systems. Conflict theorists, on the other hand, impute characteristics of competition and instability to social systems. Both approaches address valid and invalid points regarding social systems, as sources of hypotheses concerning the role that individuals and intercultural communication play in the social structure.

Intercultural communication theorists can set their sights on new theoretical and conceptual dimensions. But behavior of this ilk is expensive in terms of energy expended, time consumed, and personal risk. Time and energy may be splurged in pursuit of a dead-end and that is painful. Though intercultural communication theorists may be safer to pull in their necks I trust that innovation and creativity will typify their efforts in the development of theoretical models.

FOOTNOTES

[1]Robert Dubin, *Theory Building* (New York. The Free Press, 1969), p. 33.

[2]Dubin, 1969, p. 33.

[3]George C. Homans, *Social Behavior: Its Elementary Forms* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc., 1961), p. 13.

[4]Floyd W. Matson and Ashley Montagu eds. *The Human Dialogue: Perspectives on Communication* (New York: The Free Press, 1967), pp. 6-7.

[5]Frank E. X. Dance, "The 'Concept' of Communication," *The Journal of Communication*, 20 (1970), 210.

[6]Dubin, 1969, p. 35.

[7]Dubin, 1969, p. 85.

[8]Abraham Kaplan, *The Conduct of Inquiry* (San Francisco: Chandler Publishing Company, 1964), p. 284.

[9]Dubin, 1969, p. 227.

[10]Kaplan, 1964, p. 268.

[11]Thomas S. Kuhn, *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions* 2nd ed. (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1970), p. 24.

[12]Homans, 1961, p. 16.

[13]Ernest G. Borman, *Theory and Research in the Communicative Arts* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1965), p. 84.

[14]Homans, 1961, p. 10.

[15]Dubin, 1969, p. 23.

[16]Dubin, 1969, p. 223.

[17]Amitai Etizoni, "Social-Psychological Aspects of International Relations," in *The Handbook of Social Psychology* 2nd ed. ed. Gardner Lindzey and Elliot Aronson (Reading, Mass.: Addison-Wesley Publishing Company, 1969), V. p. 584.

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[19]Ralph Linton, *The Study of Man* (New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, 1936), p. viii.

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RESEARCH METHODOLOGY IN ANOTHER CULTURE: SOME PRECAUTIONS

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Researchers, in building and testing theories in their own culture, often find it difficult to achieve the desired experimental conditions required to adequately investigate the theories. This difficulty is magnified many times when conducting experimental research in another culture. The purpose of this paper is to discuss some precautions intercultural researchers should consider. These precautions are primarily methodological considerations and this writer believes that utilization of them can lead to a more reliable and valid end product in intercultural experimental research.

The idea for this paper developed out of an experience writing a dissertation which examined the effects of counterattitudinal role playing, passive participation, and two variations of personal space upon attitude change among Japanese.[1] A review of the purpose, hypotheses, and findings of this dissertation will serve as a starting point for this paper. This will be followed by an examination of the precautions, their importance in intercultural research, and how these precautions can best be followed.

The dissertation examined the generalizability of role playing theory and personal space theory upon attitude change in another culture. More specifically, it tested theory that was established in the United States, with Americans, in Japan to see if generalization was tenable. Moreover, it provided an experimental setting in which the nonverbal variable personal space was tested along with a verbal variable--role playing. Finally, it provided information about measurement technique and experimental designs in Japanese culture.

From related research results and theoretical information, the following hypotheses were developed:

(1) People verbalizing counterattitudinal messages will show greater positive attitude change than those listening to the messages.

(2) People who are induced to communicate with another at personal distance will show more positive attitude change than those who are induced to communicate at intimate distance.

(3) When confronted by counterattitudinal persuasive messages, active personal participants should show more positive attitude change than passive personal and active intimate subjects, and passive intimate subjects should show the least amount of positive attitude change.

The key variables were operationalized as follows: Personal space was defined as the physical distance in inches and feet between communicatees. Intimate distance was 6-18 inches between subjects and 12 inches between chairs in which the subjects were seated. Personal

distance was 2 1/2-4 feet between subjects and 3 feet between chairs.[2] Active participation through counterattitudinal role playing referred to the condition in which the subject was induced to assert orally what had been stated in an outline as if it represented his own opinion. Passive participation was the condition where the subject silently read the outline and attended to the communication, but did not orally verbalize it. Positive attitude change referred to the shift in position from pretest to posttest of a group mean score on a Likert scale in the direction advocated by the outline.[3]

The sample of subjects was made up of bilingual (subjects who spoke both Japanese and English) native Japanese college students at International Christian University in Tokyo.

The project included a pretest, treatment, and posttest. The pretest was conducted to determine the attitude of the subjects on a number of attitude items. Approximately two months after the pretest, the subjects were randomly assigned to one of the conditions of role playing and personal space and placed into dyads within which the active participant argued a counterattitudinal position suggesting that all Japanese be required to learn English. Immediately following the treatment, a posttest was administered to measure the attitude change.

It was found that active participation did not produce an attitude change significantly different from the passive condition. Moreover, attitude change was not significantly different between conditions of personal and intimate space. Furthermore, there were no interaction effects between personal space and role playing. See tables 1 (factorial analysis of variance) and 2 (analysis of covariance).

TABLE 1

Anova

Source of Variation	df	ss	ms	f	sig (.05)
1	1	21.3333	21.33333	.9545	ns
1	1	27.0000	27.00000	1.2272	ns
12	1	12.00000	12.00000	.5454	ns
Within Replicates	44	1009.33333	22.93939		
TOTAL	47	1069.66667			

TABLE 2

Source	df	ss	Ancova ss (due)	ss (about)	df	ms
Treatment (between)	3	94.2292				
Error (within)	44	1312.0833	.8588	1311.2245	43	30.4936
Treatment error (total	47	1406.3125	7.1838	1399.1287	46	
Difference for testing adjusted treatment means				87.9042	3	29.3014

Null Hypothesis: No difference among treatments after adjusting with covariates.

F(3,43) = .961 ns at .05 level

Two plausible explanations of the results were hypothesized. First, there were no differences and the theories of active-passive participation and personal space were not tenable in predicting attitude change. Second, there were differences, but these were not detected. An examination of the nature of Japanese subjects,[4] and especially design weaknesses, prompted this writer to assert that the second explanation was the most tenable.

The findings and explanations of the study generated the key idea in this paper, and that is that we, as researchers and theorists, cannot assume that ALL variables which affect attitude change in the (American) culture, also operate on the Japanese, or even if they do, as the key variables of concern did in this study, that they operate in the same way.

In testing generalizability of our theories in another culture, two precautions should be considered to determine if the same variables being studied operate on both cultures and whether or not they operate in the same way. First, the culture one is working in must be studied to determine if the methodology to be employed is appropriate. Knowledge of the culture can aid in making empirical, methodological, and theoretical decisions. Second, in carrying out the research, careful plans must be made to insure the availability of subjects and resources and to solicit assistance from qualified researchers in the culture under study.

It is important to study the culture one is working in because what may be appropriate procedure in one culture may be inappropriate for another. It might be that methodology that is used with success in the United States might generate misunderstanding or distrust in another culture such as Japanese. Moreover, one must first study the culture in which one plans to work in order to have some idea how the variables operate. For example, it would not be appropriate with Japanese subjects to ask them to reveal intimate information about themselves in a questionnaire.

Certain conditions existed in this experiment and they illustrate the importance of determining if the methodology is appropriate. By examining the possibilities of these conditions occurring, one can lessen their effect in any study and the validity of any experiment can be strengthened. Those conditions were language problems, experimenter bias, and intercultural differences with respect to personal space and role playing, and they could have influenced the results of the experiment.

First, language problems experienced by the Japanese subjects could explan why active participants did not show more attitude change than passive participants. One of the key variables necessary for attitude change is improvisation. According to pioneering research on the effects of role playing on attitude change by Janis and King[5] improvisation is the key to explaining the differential effectiveness between active and passive participation. Improvisation, they pointed out, forces the individual to consider new supporting arguments, and in this way he persuades himself to change his beliefs. Improvisation, in terms of biased scanning, increases the salience of the positive arguments and therefore increases the chances of acceptance of the new attitude position.[6]

In this study, the active participant had little time to study the outline for content and to engage in improvisation and biased scanning. Each dyad was afforded less than 30 minutes for the whole treatment, and a good percentage of the time was devoted to understanding the written directions and the outline, and completing the posttest. Moreover, although the active participants were instructed to deliver their speech in Japanese, the outline which served as their guide was in English. This meant that they first had to translate the outline into their native language. So the bulk of their short time before speaking was spent on understanding the outline. Some of the subjects expressed annoyance to the experimenters at having to read the directions and outline in English. Subjects seemed to experience difficulty in understanding some of the content. This was substantiated by posttest interviews with them.

Kikuchi and Gordon pointed out that there is a growing literature reporting studies in which American paper and pencil personality tests have been translated and then used in another culture. It is rare that any mention is made of attempts to determine the adequacy of the translated form beyond the use of back-translation.[7] When translated from English to Japanese, and vice versa, there is room for loss of meaning, misunderstanding, and ambiguity.

For example, the use of negatives in English, such as "shouldn't" or "won't" are difficult for Japanese to understand, so these should not be used. Even though bilingual Japanese assistants aided in developing the wording used in the study, language problems were evident.

In addition to language problems, methodological considerations should include plans to avoid the possibility of experimenter bias. In intercultural experimentation, this threat may exist when an experimenter, who knows little about the culture he is experimenting in, does something which is very unusual or taboo in a given culture. For example, asking Japanese subjects to disclose things about themselves to a strange experimenter just is not done with success. Barnlund found in his research that Japanese were willing to reveal little to strangers. More specifically, he found that Japanese prefer to communicate with few people and not on as deep a level as Americans would. Moreover, Americans would be willing to communicate on a deeper level with strangers than would Japanese. Furthermore, Japanese show an indifference or hostility to strangers and a more limited interaction is encouraged. In addition, Japanese tend to conceal their self attitudes with strangers.[8] The implication here is that if an experimenter is working with Japanese subjects and he employs accepted Western methodology, his results would probably have little validity.

Nakane, the noted Japanese anthropologist, said this:

> The extreme delicacy of demeanour mentioned earlier is chiefly applied to, and functions among, the 'own' group. The Japanese have failed to develop any social manner properly applicable to strangers, to people from 'outside.' In the store of Japanese etiquette there are only two basic patterns available: one which applied to a 'superior' and another which applied to an 'inferior;' or, to put it another way, there are expressions of hostility, but none which apply on the peer level or which indicate indifference. This produces discomfort during contact with a stranger, whether he be foreigner or Japanese.[9]

> The Japanese are often thought by foreigners to be very reserved. A more accurate description would be that Japanese on the whole are not sociable. This is partly because, once outside their immediate orbit, they are at a loss for appropriate forms of expression. They have not developed techniques for dealing with persons 'outside,' because their lives are so tightly concentrated into their 'own' groups. Within these groups, the Japanese could not be described as reserved. . .[10]

This experimenter was familiar with the culture, so this kind of experimenter bias was less of a threat to the validity of the study than it otherwise might have been. Another kind was a more distinct threat. Experimenter bias could also be a real possibility due to Japanese adherence to authority and respect status. In this study, the subjects were inclined to follow the directions of the two native Japanese who, because of their graduate student ranking, had higher status conferred upon them by society, and thus authority over subjects. Nakane pointed out that status was the dominant factor in fixing of social order. She further cited evidence of status afforded to class ranking in school, which would give the experimenters higher status than the subjects. Subjects would show respect for status and authority by complying with the requests of the experimenters.[11]

Kawasaki reinforced this by saying: "The Japanese attitude toward life, then, is characterized by inertia and by submission to authority, rather than by individual conscience and rational judgement."[12] Kawasaki further contended that Japanese conform such that the majority of people act in the same way. Conformity is safe; individuality is negatively reinforced by isolation from the majority.[13]

A related threat is the acquiescience effect on the part of subjects. Weick illustrated this problem:

The aura of compliance in the laboratory stems from several sources: the presumed credibility of the experimenter, his role as an expert, the uncertainty with which subjects approach experiments, their desire to help science, the fact that experiments are tied closely to classroom work because of requirements for credit, and so forth. Because compliance is pervasive, a distorted view of attitude change often emerges from the laboratory.[14]

Because of the nature of Japanese people as obedient and compliant, this threat seemed quite plausible. There might have been a tendency for subjects not to think independently, but to try to behave as they perceived the experimenter wanted them to behave. Experimenter bias can occur in this situation where the expectancies, hypotheses, or biases of the experimenters are communicated in some fashion to their subjects.[15]

A third consideration in determining whether the methodology is appropriate is to investigate intercultural differences with regards to the variables being studied. In order to test the effects of personal space on attitude change, Hall's distances, (intimate and personal)[16] were employed. Personal space theory postulated that as an individual's personal space was violated, the less susceptible he would be to attitude change.[17] In order to test the theory of personal space and its effect on attitude change, one distance must be utilized where personal space is violated. It is not the fault of the theory that no significant differences were found, but the fact that Japanese evidently have different proxemic patterns than Americans. This is not to say that Japanese do not express similar actions when their space is violated, only that violation occurs at distances different than those within the American culture. What might be intimate space to Americans might be personal space to Japanese.

Hall has said:

Until recently man's space requirements were thought of in terms of the actual amount of air displaced by his body. The fact that man has around him as extensions of his personality the zones described earlier has generally been overlooked. Differences in the zones--in fact their very existence--became apparent only when Americans began interacting with foreigners who organize their senses differently so that what was intimate in one culture might be personal or even public in another. Thus for the first time the American became aware of his own spatial envelopes, which he had previously taken for granted.[18]

Research has suggested that intimate distance in public is not considered proper by adult, middle-class Americans.[19] Individuals at this distance would be less susceptible to attitude change because their space would be violated. But with Japanese, this did not happen. The questions we might ask ourselves are how different are these distances and at which range will personal space be violated? Only by answering these questions can the influence of personal space on attitude change among Japanese be determined.

The other independent variable was type of participation. One reason for finding no significant difference between active and passive participants with regard to attitude change might be due to failure of active participants to immerse themselves in the role to which they were assigned. It might appear that this is a design weakness, but it is more a characteristic of Japanese people. When Japanese interact, they do not immediately address themselves to the issue they have come to discuss. For example, businessmen often play a round of golf or have a few drinks before they even begin to discuss business. Hall pointed out that Americans dealing with Japanese become frustrated because the Japanese never come directly to the point. They talk around it.[20] Because of the nature of the Japanese, they may not have been able to immediately suspend their unrelated thoughts and feelings and immerse themselves into the role or play the role at the exact time it was called for. Because the subjects were only available for a short time it was necessary to run them quickly through the treatment which might have precluded immersion into the role.

After examining the three conditions that existed in this study (language problems, experimenter bias, and intercultural differences with respect to the key variables), it seems that more thorough steps could have been taken to assure that the methodology was appropriate. A number of measures were taken to strengthen the appropriateness of the methodology.

First, a pilot study was undertaken to determine if the method of assessing attitudes in the actual study would be appropriate for native Japanese people. It might be that the method of assessing attitudes would inhibit natural behavior. The pretest questionnaire was of major concern. Would the subjects understand the English questionnaire the way it was worded? Moreover, would they be able to understand the scale that was being used to measure attitude change? Would it make sense to them?

By factor analyzing the results of the pilot and through the opinions of several native Japanese speakers and a Japanese social psychologist who previewed the questionnaire (Dr. James Morishima--University of Washington), it was determined that English speaking Japanese would have no trouble understanding the written questionnaire. This was further substantiated through interviews, with subjects participating in the pilot, by a Japanese experimenter. However, the wording of some statements had to be changed before the questionnaires were distributed to the subjects in the actual study in Japan to facilitate subjects' understanding of the statements.

In order to alleviate the threat of experimenter bias, two Japanese experimenters administered the treatment. If the same experimenter conducted both the pretest and the treatment/posttest, then the threat would exist that subjects may try to recall their initial

response to the key issue in order to remain consistent. Moreover, they may feel more unnatural with a foreign experimenter during the treatment. In addition, the two experimenters were not aware of the study's hypothesis and thus would be less likely to communicate the actual hypotheses to the subjects.

Two pilot studies were performed to examine the construct of personal space. The first one was conducted primarily to determine what types of methods would be necessary and feasible to control personal space as an independent variable, since not an abundance of empirical research has dealt with it as such.

The second pilot study was undertaken to determine if Japanese might react differently than Americans to violation of their personal space. It might be that researchers have not experienced these reactions and thus might not be in a position to control for them.

At the Intercultural Communication Conference in Tokyo, July 7-17, 1972, this very issue was discussed. It was pointed out that Japanese have different dimensions of personal space than Americans, but their reactions to violation of it were not noticeably different. This writer, using a Japanese confederate, tested the reactions of native Japanese subjects to violation of their personal space and found the same kinds of actions that Americans took.

In addition to the precautions taken to insure that the methodology was sound, several other steps should have been taken. Another pilot study with subjects from the target population could have been run to test for any language problems. The pilot study used to test for this was performed with native Japanese students studying in the United States, and it might be that Japanese who study in this country speak better English and understand the language more thoroughly than the bilingual native Japanese population used in the actual study.

The subjects would have had a better chance of understanding the arguments they were using had language problems been eliminated or lessened. This would have allowed for more biased scanning--a condition necessary for attitude change through role playing. Moreover, additional time should have been given to allow subjects to immerse into their roles. A pilot study could have been run to decide approximately how much time is needed for immersion into a role.

If role playing has an influence on attitude change, then experimenters should be confident that their subjects are actually role playing. Role playing exercises should allow the subject time to immerse himself in the role--above and beyond the time to familiarize himself with the content of the message he is to deliver. Although this writer is not able to say how much time is needed, intuitively one could reason that in order for role playing to be effective, the subject should be given some leeway to take the time he feels necessary to prepare for the task. It might be that different time elements are necessary for different cultures.

In addition to role playing, Japanese dimensions of space should have been tested to determine what physical distances constitute personal and intimate space for Japanese. Even though this study only attempted to test existing American theories of personal space in another culture, attitude change theory was not really tested as planned because violation of personal space was not evident.

Future research must be embarked upon to establish whether we can generalize our findings. We know that what Americans consider intimate space is not intimate for Japanese. By finding the corresponding proxemic patterns in Japanese culture, and by tightening controls on active-passive participation, the effects of these variables on attitude change can be examined more confidently.

Finally, experimenter bias could have been mitigated by using more experimenters. Rosenthal pointed out that if we randomly sampled experimenters just as we did subjects, using several different experimenters within one experiment, this would perhaps cancel out the biases of different experimenters. Often, willing experimenters aren't as readily available in another culture. In this study, experimenter bias could have best been dealt with by using experimenters whose status was unknown to the subjects. Moreover, the experiment could have been made as "natural" as possible so as to put laboratory compliance at a minimum. In order to do this, the culture would have to be thoroughly examined. Methods used to make the experimental setting as real as possible for Americans might not work for Japanese.

Aside from the basic problem of examining methodological and theoretical questions and techniques in a different culture, there is the pragmatic problem of carrying out the research. The second precaution is also vitally important to the success of any intercultural research proejct. In carrying out the research, careful plans must be made to insure the availability of subjects and resources to solicit assistance from qualified researchers in the culture under study. Decision making and timing play a key role in this.

When studying in another culture we do not have the access to subjects as we do in our own country. We cannot just go over there and expect complete cooperation. Our being there might even seem to the culture to be an imposition. We have trouble with our own subjects not liking to have themselves experimented upon. Without free access, we cannot really expect random sampling; we take who we can get and this means less external validity. Often, assistance from people in another culture can bridge this problem, but just as often this assistance is not available.

Often it is difficult to get the commitment of subjects to participate in a study. Moreover, it has been the experience of this writer to lose subjects because of misunderstanding or schedule conflicts. Furthermore, decisions had to be made at a moment's notice, such as where the pretest would be given and what time; what to do if subjects did not understand the directions, and how many subjects would be needed for the study. Researchers should concentrate on having all decisions made prior to the administering of the experiment. Moreover, alternative plans must be made for every decision in case original plans go awry. Enough time should be set aside to make any last minute changes. It has also been the experience of this writer that what might take one or two days to accomplish in this country, would usually take a week in Japan. For example, having materials typed and copied in this country is a relatively simple task and often can be done in a day or two. This writer had the experience of searching three days for a typewriter and waiting another four days for material to be copied. But that was minor compared to the surprise and shock of finding subjects gone on summer vacation when they were to be available for the experiment. Language and cultural differences are prevalent when working and living in

another country. Perhaps the best advice is to solicit assistance from researchers in the other culture IN ADVANCE. Even though precautions are taken, situations may arise that have not been anticipated. When working in another culture, one must expect the unexpected.

Fortunately this writer had access to Japanese subjects within their own cultural setting. This is advantagous from the point of view that it would be more difficult to generalize the results of this study to Japanese people if the subjects were comprised of Japanese people in the United States. The director of the communications department as well as several administrators of the university assisted this writer by offering student subjects and facilities. Finally, there was available personnel to help with the research. These included the director of the communications department, Dr. John Condon, and several Japanese professors and graduate students. Because of language problems and cultural traits, these competent researchers were needed to help carry out the study.

In deciding upon what precautionary measures to take, one pragmatic point must be discussed. Often it is necessary to make one decision at the expense of another. For example, because this experiment was run in another culture, and because two variables (personal space and type of participation) were being studied together for the first time, this writer felt control was extremely important. But while control measures might strengthen the internal validity of the study, the threat of experimenter bias is also increased. A related example involved the use of two Japanese experimenters to administer treatment and posttest. While this measure might make it more difficult for subjects to associate the pretest (conducted by this writer) and the posttest so as to remain consistent in their responses to the key attitude items, this writer could not witness any demand characteristics that might have occurred in the treatment or posttest. This is a real dilemma--a situation requiring choosing between alternatives that increase certain strengths in validity, while decreasing others. Thus the experimenter must decide which alternatives will best suit his particular needs and he must be willing to lose some strengths in order to gain others.

In this paper, it has been suggested that in attempting to generalize existing findings to another culture, one must take precautions to insure that methodological and practical considerations have been adhered to. The phenomena for which the theories hold must be firmly established. By considering the precautions suggested in this paper, it might be possible to build a theory which would be strong in parsimony and utility, and perhaps even able to account for the variables of type of participation and personal space. As we meet the conditions of the theory and as we replicate the study, the variables which affect attitude change in our culture could be tested in Japan to see if generalization is tenable, and to what degree and under what conditions it is tenable. Then more variables which operate in the attitude change process could be built into the design and the base of the theory could be broadened to include more phenomena.

Once these precautions are considered, they can be utilized in other cultures under other conditions and researchers can gain a better understanding of how the same variables operate in different cultures, or even if they do. Moreover, these precautions can help promote a more reliable and valid end product.

FOOTNOTES

[1]Henry M. Brashen, "The Effects of Counterattitudinal Role Playing, Passive Participation, and Two Variations of Personal Space Upon Attitude Change Among Japanese," Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Washington (1973).

[2]Edward T. Hall, *The Hidden Dimension* (Garden City: Doubleday and Co., Inc., 1966), pp. 113-131.

[3]Brashen, 1973, p. 56.

[4]Brashen, 1973, p. 120. This examination was utilized to determine if the variables of concern, type of participation and personal space operated on Japanese people. It was determined that they did.

[5]Bert King and Irving L. Janis, "Comparison of the effectiveness of improvised vs. nonimprovised role playing in producing opinion changes," *Human Relations* (1956), vol. 8.

[6]King and Janis, 1956, p. 186.

[7]Akie Kikuchi and Leonard V. Gordon, "Evaluation and Cross-Cultural Application of a Japanese Form of the Survey of Interpersonal Values," *Journal of Social Psychology* (1966), vol. 69, pp. 185-195.

[8]Dean L. Barnlund, Lecture on Intercultural Communication at Intercultural Communication Conference (Tokyo, Japan: July 10, 1972).

[9]Chie Nakane, *Japanese Society* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1972).

[10]Nakane, 1972, pp. 130-31.

[11]Nakane, 1972, p. 32.

[12]Ichire Kawasaki, *Japan Unmasked* (Rutland Ve: Charles E. Tutle Co., 1969), p. 187.

[13]Kawasaki, 1969, p. 187.

[14]Carolyn W. Sherif and Muzafer Sherif, *Attitude, Ego-Involvement, and Change* (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1967), p. 53.

[15]John Jung, *The Experimenters' Dilemma* (San Francisco: Harper and Row Publishers, 1971), p. 2.

[16]Hall, 1966.

[17]Stuart Albert and James M. Dabbs, Jr., "Physical Distance and Persuasion," *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* (1971), vol. 15, no. 3, p. 265.

[18]Hall, 1966, p. 118.

[19]Hall, 1966, p. 118.

[20]Hall, 1966, p. 151.

[21]Jung, 1971, p. 43.

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PERCEPTION OF SELF AND OTHERS: AN APPROACH TO INTERCULTURAL COMMUNICATION

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Recent research writings have emphasized componential analysis of intercultural communication. In fact, in some studies the participants, codes, channels and settings have been seen almost as static concepts to be examined and applied to intercultural settings where possible. There is a need for organismic studies with emphasis on how human beings think, feel, and experience in the arena of intercultural communication. Much emphasis on process has characterized our most recent thinking on this subject. The manipulation of components, the variations upon themes, and the juggling of variables in cross cultural research have frequently obscured the basic question involved in the cross cultural communicative setting. Theory dimensions offered by Edward Stewart, Michael Prosser, and Andrea Rich, among others, are valuable guides but the elemental question of the role of human beings interacting with other human beings from an ontological basis has seldom been addressed. Caught up with the componential analysis concept, we have operated as if factors are set in motion and run through the various stages of interaction without human interpretation and judgment.

What this paper attempts to do is to establish some guidelines for looking at the relative ontological and existential question, Who am I? as a basis for understanding intercultural perception. This question is fundamental to an exploration for intercultural communication because it is the peg upon which all else hangs in a transaction. Our critical thinking on this subject must begin with a look at how such a relational question determines the character of intercultural communication.

To have a fairly clear idea of what nearly fixed role and group an individual falls into within h/his own culture is a large part of knowing who s/he is. For example, a physician in American culture may serve in a different role than a physician in Chinese culture. The contention of Brein and David that "in order to communicate effectively in an intercultural setting . . . it would seem particularly important for the sojourner to carefully differentiate among the roles of the 'host' culture"[1] is pertinent in some respects to our view of the question, Who am I? At this level we are able to know something about a person's religion, culture, ideology, family status, and profession. A critical analyst of intercultural communication would approach a given setting armed with the relative question put this way to the communicators, "Who are you?" It is an essential first question to identify and isolate the players in a communicative drama. A researcher who either records or observes a communicative event without knowing that it is intercultural, transracial, or interethnic is at an initial disadvantage in investigation or interpretation. So the question provides a researcher with an analytical tool to begin to look at the communication although one must be cautious not to establish stereotypes on the basis of first impressions.

It should, of course, be noted that a researcher is not always able to get the required information for an investigation from the communicators. In fact, they may deny him access to information regarding race, religion, or national allegiance. But this is a concern of another dimension because whatever the communicators choose to reveal, the fact of their existence within a communication setting is evidence of an ontological statement. Furthermore, the researcher may choose to seek the information from other sources. Getting

to the question from the viewpoint of a critical analyst does not obscure the validity of the concept for the communicators. They must know who they are and be willing to share a certain part of that identity with others in the transaction. Thus, a communicator at this level may decide to divulge a part of his personal identity to another person.

The bases of the communication process lie within the individual human being and h/his concept of self identity. H/his behavior is a manifestation of h/his identity which is comprised of systems of belief, attitudes, value structures, patterns of thinking, assumptions, emotions, etc. The functional aspects of the question, "Who am I," involves the becoming of ourselves as well as the becoming of our relationships in intercultural settings. This question becomes the instrument for analysis and synthesis in the communication process. It establishes a method for determining how one communicator will relate to another in any given situation by providing a perspective from which we can look at human relationships by answering the fundamental problem in human psychology.

It is our belief that effective intercultural communication hinges on the ability to understand and know the dimensions of one's identity and to be aware of the structures and elements that comprise "who one is." Knowledge of one's identity is based in large part on the constituents of one's social and psychological environment, i.e., how events and actions are perceived and interpreted, what self-image is held, what are one's needs, how one defines herself, forms judgments, makes decisions, and what are one's communicative patterns.

The self is unique to the individual yet exists in relation to others. Self-identities give cognitive and emotional strength; however, they are often fragile and can easily be destroyed when defined in different terms by others. Our view of ourselves depends in part on our perception of what others think of us. There is an ongoing interchange and one must be concerned not only with oneself but also with oneself in relation to others. The self acts as a screening agent. In a threatened position it may withdraw and be denied what it feeds on for growth – ideas from others and the intercultural environment.[2] The greater our ability to accept and understand our self-identity the less we will be influenced by outside pressure and irrational fears. Yet as social beings we are constantly aware of our relationship to others.

The impact of culture on one's psychological being provides another aspect as to how a person is defined. Culture provides the individual with a frame of reference in which to function, and has a strong role in the formation of values, attitudes, and communication styles. Thus, it is inherent in the process of personality growth and becomes an automatic part of behavior, often without the individual's awareness of its extent. Awareness of cultural influence on the formation of self identity is instrumental in answering the question, "Who am I?"[3] Thus, what we must seek to do is to use the personal data gained from such an analysis of self in order to understand the intercultural communication process. Without this knowledge of cultural influence on one's personality and its enactment it is more difficult to define oneself in an intercultural situation.

A person must be able to modify his own frame of reference to become more aware of the roles and values of other cultures. In the intercultural environment one is confronted with people having different personal as well as cultural realities. Therefore one is faced with a whole set of new perceptions to interpret. This means that one must become more acutely

aware of his own cultural cues; our cultural cues take on different meanings in different cultures. Thus it is critical that communicators have an ability to interpret their cultural cues in order to effectively cope with intercultural conflicts and ambiguities. This awareness may help to modify behavior patterns so they are more responsive to the other culture. The Oriental story cited by D. Adams is a good example of different perceptions by different parties.

> "Once upon a time there was a great flood, and involved in the flood were two creatures, a monkey and a fish. Now the monkey, being agile and experienced, was lucky enough to scramble up a tree and escape the raging waters. As he looked down from his safe perch, he saw the poor fish struggling against the swift current. With the very best of intentions, he reached down and lifted the fish from the water. The result was inevitable."[4]

It is sometimes difficult to understand the effect someone's culture has had on another individual but the results could be catastrophic. Therefore, modification of our frame of reference, when in an intercultural situation, is one of the first laws of intercultural appreciation.

The intercultural experience demands self-understanding and change. It is in this aspect of change that the function of the process becomes critical. Human beings are in a state of ongoing dynamic change, not confined, as we stated earlier, to formulae. Hopefully these changes lead to behavioral modifications and yield a more flexible nature when dealing in an alien environment. Without this flexibility a person can become fixed in his views and needs for rigid organization of his thoughts, behaviors, etc. Such personality factors as closed minded/openmindedness, flexibility/rigidity, universalistic values/culturally dominated values, etc., affect the limits or heights to which an individual can successfully reach out and communicate across cultures. Rich has observed that in interracial situations values are critical to the communicative process.[5] Her understanding of a hierarchy of needs is instructive for us. Our emphasis on intercultural communication must begin with the same basic treatment of human values and hierarchies. What should be clear now is our concern that a person in a different culture is forced to confront social and psychological ambiguities. How one responds to these ambiguities is a matter of perception and action.

Identities are seen through different eyes, different sets of perception and expectations. When one is cut off from the familiar environments and supporting props that form the foundation of self identity, it produces uneasiness with people of a different culture. Questions may be raised as to one's ability to meet new cultural challenges. Herein lies the crucial importance of high levels of awareness and consciousness of one's identity; for without knowledge of the composition of one's self identity a person is easily weakened and can enter stages of crisis. It is important to be able to incorporate new attitudes and perspectives without the loss of identity, but rather as an expansion of one's identity. Awareness of one's desires and needs enables the individual to more freely experiment by trying out new patterns of behavior. It allows for greater flexibility in adapting and adjusting to different environments without threatening basic values. Understanding others is essential: this does not mean that one has to totally give up h/himself, but rather to form new patterns of behavior. It can facilitate a higher degree of self understanding and consciousness of our cultural dispositions, and lead to broader views of what constitutes one's own person.

Throughout an intercultural encounter the individual must deal with the relationships to be developed and the processes of interpersonal dynamics. In these dynamics a sense of who one is helps to foster openmindedness, ego strength, and the ability to accept ambiguity and diversity among people.

As Edward Stewart states, transculturally the self is a constellation of patterns of thinking, assumptions, and values giving continually in time and ability to introspect.[6] For Americans the self is a unifying concept and serves as a point of reference which directs thinking, actions, perceptions, etc. In other cultures the self is also important but in a different context or with a different emphasis. For example, continuity to a Japanese may rely upon *uchi*, my house, which is a view of a person's self that lies outside of his physical self.[7] In Africa, a person's continuity may depend upon the extension of one's tribal affiliations. Wherever he is in the world he harks back to the ancestral tribal affiliation. But what we are contending is that the self has various forms in different cultures. Therefore, our initial theoretical concept, "Who am I," has meaning in a universal as well as a specific context.

The specific application of this concept by practitioners of cross cultural communication must involve their appreciation for diversity of people, reorientation toward culture cues, development of patience, tolerance, and empathy. Without these fundamental skills a person cannot develop significant interpersonal relationships interculturally. The process must be reciprocal. It is important for everyone to know where his identity lies and to appreciate cultural influences on his personal development. Additionally, each communicator must be aware of the avenues he chooses for interpersonal communication in intercultural contexts.

Thus, one of the major avenues for an intercultural theorist or communicator must be through cross cultural perceptions. It is the contention of most that cultural perception is influenced by learned and patterned behavior. Edward Hall asserts that it is impossible for a man to divest himself of his own culture, for it has penetrated to the roots of his nervous system and determines how he perceives the world.[8] In advancing our belief that this question must be considered essential to intercultural theory we recognize that although perception may be a function of context, the several studies of binocular resolution and perceptual dominance indicate a definite relationship between how people perceive and how they react ot a phenomena.[9] Consequently as cultures differ so will screening filters and the ultimate perception of the same experience by communicators from different cultural backgrounds.

Conceptually, by culture we mean those observable patterns utilized by a group to meet recurring social and private situations; as such, these patterns are highly transmittable.[10] Operating within this conceptual framework, then, cultural perceptions are derived from our total social and physical environment. In fact, perceiving has been taken to be "a process by which the organism relates itself to its surroundings."[11] Thus, perception of self and others is a process which involves interpretation, discrimination, and identification of objects and conditions existing in the environment.

As Berelson and Steiner explain, perception is the process by which a person selects, organizes, and interprets sensory stimulation into a meaningful and coherent pattern.[12] The perceptual process is influenced by one's experiences inasmuch as those experienced establish a person's predisposition to act in one way or another. Psychological needs cannot

be minimized in discussing how we hear another and what we hear from another. Responding to another communicator frequently becomes a matter of how and what referents are available. Consequently stereotypes of the other provide the receiver with readily available referent kits. And it is easily conceivable that the source of the dimensions of any given stereotype is inherently involved with the cultural conditioning/heritage of an individual.

If a person has had unfulfilling experiences with persons of different cultures, Berelson and Steiner's position indicates that those experiences as bound by his cultural set of expectations color his attitude and shade h/his perception. What we perceive in intercultural communication about the other person is a variable governing how we react to h/him. One cannot perceive of the Japanese as evil and secretive and expect to treat them as equals. The person whose attitude is that Mexican-Americans are lazy will have an exceedingly difficult time communicating with them without conveying low regard. Selection of the elements is an initial process, but it is not the only process. The intercultural communicator also organizes the elements. Thus, perception is usually organized and our observations meaningfully interpreted according to past frames of references and needs. As Harry Helson points out, "Perception embraces phenomena ranging from simple sensory processes to complex, patterned formations having cognitive and affective components."[13] With this in mind, he defines perception as an "adjustive process contributing to the adaptation of the organism to its environment."[14] This concept is particularly applicable to a discussion of how people communicate across cultural backgrounds.

Cultural diversity is not static and thus no amount of intercultural interaction will threaten the existence of cultural diversity as a value. In fact, we contend that cultural diversity will be accelerated by cultural interchanges and exchanges. Whenever we react to persons of a different cultural background we create, in that moment, as Rich and Ogawa have understood, a third culture.[15] However, that creation is temporary, not permanent. The only thing permanent about it is our memory of the event which, of course, can be called upon if we are in a similar situation at another time. We do not become Nigerians by engaging in intercultural interactions with them, no more than Nigerians become Ghanaians or Russians by talking with them. Our perceptions of who we are and their perceptions of who they are keep us from losing our own identities. Therefore, while conflict is a critical issue in the analysis of intercultural communication, it is conflict resolution that we must seek. As intercultural combinations develop, new perceptions arise and new situations are created. Although it is conceivable, in fact probable, that defined cultures of today may not exist in the future, new arrangements of cultural phenomena will ensure the existence of other cultures and thus cultural diversity. Intercultural communication cannot and will not bring about one world, anymore than interpersonal communication can make siblings respond to the same envoronmental stimuli, wish for the same possessions, or in some cases, like each other. That is not the function of the process of intercultural communicaton. Our concern, as intercultural communicationists, must be achieving understanding in trans-cultural contexts, not an evangelism of other cultures. Achievement of communication *qua* understanding means that we must isolate the factors that cause conflict. In this respect Helson makes sense when he argues that perception is an adjustive process because the communicators adapt to the cultural context. They do not become the other; they identify with the other. Kenneth Burke's doctrine of consubstantiality is applicable to the intercultural process inasmuch as the communicators from different cultures are seeking to

influence each other if it is no more than achieving a mutual willingness to talk.

Finally the work of D.W. Hamlyn is significant to a discussion of cultural perception in communication. In his book, *Psychology of Perception*, he asks whether perception is an end-product of a process of stimulation or something in which we engage.[16] Recognizing the conditions under which perception occurs as involving the stimulation of sense organs, he adds that perception can occur only if and when we are paying attention.[17] Certainly, inasmuch as experience includes synesthetic effects, how we see people and things depends not simply on the data provided by the modality as it is usually conceived but by cross-sensory factors. As Joseph Church puts it, "When we hear someone walking down the corridor we do not hear merely the noise of shoes striking the flooring, nor yet the meaningful pattern named footfalls, but *somebody* walking down the corridor – as often as not, some particular person."[18] This explains the reaction of some persons who are organismically affected by skin color or some other physical factor in intercultural communication. It is not just a matter of responding to a person who said something but responding to a particular person. So the communicator does not see merely a person speaking, but a Russian or Canadian. Of course, this construct may be constrained in certain ways, depending upon variables of time, place, message, and channel. Nevertheless, perception is an end result of learning and experience, and culture is a variable in the nature and development of the perceptual process. And, as cultures differ, so perceptual processes differ. Cultural perception therefore becomes a prescriptive system of transmittal standardized practices which are designed to aid the individual in coping with intercultural interactions as well as other activities in life.

In summary, we have suggested an approach to the study of intercultural communication which begins with the individual. It is only fitting that theorists, critics, and practitioners of intercultural communication should concentrate on the person. To paraphrase an American adage, individuals communicate, not cultures. While there are characteristics of cultures that can be looked at profitably, no two individuals are acculturated precisely alike. Thus, the initial point of departure for communication analysis should not be the culture but the individual within the culture. Our focus, then, as intercultural communicationists, is upon the interaction between two or more individuals whose personal identities could conceivably produce misunderstanding by virtue of cultural referents. Perception of our own identity and an appreciation of our perception of the other are prerequisites to effective communication in transultural contexts.

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IMPLICATIONS OF INTERCULTURAL COMMUNICATION FOR BILINGUAL AND BICULTURAL EDUCATION

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Introduction

Within the past several years, there has been a growing interest in the effects of bilingual and bicultural education programs upon intergroup relations. Persons concerned with these programs have expressed varying degrees of optimism that this educational "innovation" will provide solutions for certain social, political and educational problems of miltilingual societies.

In many areas of the world, especially in the "new nations" which came into being after the end of Western colonialism, complex language issues involving language diversity, language use and language planning are being dealt with by government and educational institutions against a backdrop of great social needs and of many half-hearted attempts to respond to such needs. In the United States, there is a growing concern about the cultural and verbal deprivation of American children and adults whose academic success and social mobility are severely restricted by the type of English they use and by their difficulties in communicating with members of the dominant society. The establishment of bilingual and bicultural education programs was a result of a new recognition of the difficulties involved in the integration and assimilation of the ethnic minorities into the dominant society. It also represented a response by the federal government to the demands of minority groups which have become increasingly assertive in their desire to perpetuate their separate cultures and their native languages and dialects. It is in the context of these developments that this article will discuss the implications of intercultural communication for bilingual and bicultural education.

Bilingual and Bicultural Education

Bilingual Education

The term "bilingual education" as it is used here refers to the "use of a vernacular language of a minority group introduced into the curriculum to counterbalance the language of the dominant culture."[1] To the learner, it means the acquisition of knowledge in two languages, his mother tongue and the language that the "outside society" wants him to use. From the instructor's point of view, it is the teaching of subject matter in two languages, the mother tongue of the student and the language of wider communication or the national language.

A basic assumption of bilingual education is that "the best medium for teaching and for learning is the mother tongue of the student, at least until the national language has been mastered to the extent that students can learn through the second language."[2] The axiom is that if the child starts out with his mother tongue in the initial stage of his formal education, his conceptual development will progress uninterrupted from the home to the school. Likewise, if he starts learning a new language while attempting to learn new concepts, he will soon lag behind the other students who already speak the medium of education. Only when such a student has mastered the second language should he cease using his mother tongue as a medium of classroom learning. In the meantime, while he is learning new ideas in his native tongue, the student is systematically exposed to the national language whose importance to

his acculturation to the dominant society gradually intensifies as he increases contacts with non-group members and as he advances academically. Since English is the national language of the United States, bilingual eduation for the ethnic minorities is geared towards the acquisition of linguistic competence in this language.

Bilingual competence should enable the individual to shift between and to function in more than one communication setting. The precise production of sounds and an accurate interpretation of grammatical rules are not adequate for linguistic proficiency. Also needed is the ability to decipher rules of speaking in regard to role definitions and role prescriptions in a given culture. This enables the learner to decide from amongst a set of alternatives what to say, what not to say and what may possibly be said in a given context. It is this more than other things which directly links bilingual and bicultural education.

Bicultural Education

Bicultural education is defined as "schooling that will allow children to participate and function effectively in two contrasting cultures."[3] A bicultural curriculum should effectively include such cultural variables as values and beliefs, role definitions, verbal and non-verbal communication codes, communication contexts and events, knowledge of social institutions and their structures, art, customs and traditions and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society and which are important to the societies in which the two languages are spoken as the mother tongues. This aspect of the curriculum enables the learner to understand his own cultural milieu, enables him to identify with it and allows him to take pride in it. These achievements are especially important in a multicultural society in which the dominant group controls those institutions which have the specialized task of preserving and presenting that group's own values to the rest of the population. The family, the government, major corporations, labor unions, the schools, the churches, and the mass media among other institutions set the standards for economic success and social recognition and communicate them in many different ways to the people. Children who are socialized by most of these institutions and whose home values are not given institutional recognition may tend to experience conflicts regarding their self identity and may come to regard their own culture as inferior and undesirable. Those who are faced with such conflicts may alienate themselves from the dominant culture and increasingly become defensive about their own. The occurrence of these things among some groups in the 1960s helped to bring about the establishment of bilingual and bicultural education programs.

Applications

Bilingual and bicultural education if administered to every school and student throughout the country, instead of being provided, as is now the case, only in areas where a large percentage of the population is ethnic and where there is a pervasive atmosphere of poverty, would be an enriching and an exciting experience for everyone. This would mean that children of the dominant linguistic and cultural group would have an opportunity to be exposed to a language and a culture other than their own. Such an experience would enable them to develop a sense of openness for other viewpoints, other beliefs, and other ways of life. Thus, no person or group would be singled out. Children would learn that cultural and linguistic pluralism is a feature of American society; that while the beliefs and practices of minority members are modified somewhat to conform to an "American norm," the

distinctive set of values that are nurtured in the social groupings defined by ethnicity enrich and strengthen American society.

Language and Culture

An aspect of the bilingual and bicultural approach to education is the view that language and culture are intimately related. Several studies have attempted to delineate the relationship between language and culture.[4] A few of the more recent efforts view the relationship in a number of ways: Language is a cultural institution; language is an expression as well as an influence on culture; language diversity is indicative of important cultural variations and differences.

Language as a cultural institution is capable of performing several functions. It helps to bind a group together. It helps to socialize individuals to their own groups. It is an instrument for action. It enables groups to transmit their culture to succeeding generations.

Cultural activity, from the simplest to the most complex kind unavoidably rests on ideas or generalizations. Such or any ideas, in turn, are formulated, analyzed and transmitted by the human mind only through speech or through its secondary substitutes such as writing, signalling, numeration, notation and the like.

Speech, the verbal manifestation of language serves to identify to society at large the special positions and roles of its various members and to communicate that information to the members themselves and to others. Speech serves to express an individual's cognitive orientation to his world. Finally, language "...plays a large and significant role in the totality of culture. Far from being simply a technique of communication, it is itself a way of directing the perceptions of its speakers and provides for them habitual modes of analyzing experience into significant categories."[5]

Language diversity is indicative of important cultural variations and differences. Every group has its own patterns of organizing and categorizing experience. These patterns are primarily "established by the language through the types of objects, processes or qualities which receive special emphasis in the vocabulary and equally, though more subtly, through the types of differentiation or activity which are distinguished in grammatical forms."[6] Speakers of different native languages will most likely differ in their perception of "reality" because their world views expressed and formulated by the languages they speak are dissimilar. As has been widely noted, cultural differences tend to crystallize around language differences, and then in turn are reinforced by language, so that the two factors interact intricately.

Intercultural Communication

The term, *intercultural communication*, means many things to many people. The diversity of its meanings however, does not diminish its importance as a field of study. Instead, it demonstrates the need to pull together related research on symbolic interaction in intergroup relations from various disciplines, the need to fit such research into common theoretical models, and the need to develop and provide methods of evaluating comprehensive training programs for practitioners in this field.

Cultural Difference and Variability

In intercultural communication, the "communication process is affected by differing and sometimes conflicting rules which define acceptable communication between individuals and between groups."[11] Interactional rules are defined by the interplay of the context of situation and the dynamics of role relationships in the society.

An intercultural communication situation occurs when individuals or groups with differing frames of reference come into contact and exchange messages. They react to the same stimulus but their responses may not correspond because of the filtering effect of their culture upon their perceptions. This happens because they are communicating on the basis of presumptions made by "selves" whose perceptions are screened through differing normative systems of attitudes, beliefs, and values.

The concept of cultural difference and variability are used in intercultural communication to suggest certain aspects of culture which regularly affect the degree of communicative effectiveness. The effects are hierarchically ordered in the sense that various factors may have a greater effect than others. The degree of variation between cultures depends upon the presence or absence of contrastive elements which distinguish one unit from another. Such elements are manifested in the patterned behaviors and in the social organization of its members. For example, in American society, members of different ethnic groups share certain aspects of the dominant culture, i.e., identification as "Americans," but they also subscribe to certain cultural characteristics with which they identify and which establish them as members of one group and not of another.

The concept of cultural difference makes clear what has to be inventoried and organized in intercultural communication. This includes the factors which intervene in the process of intergroup interaction, and which account for the differences in responses to a communicative event. But while the notion of difference is viewed as the *sine-qua-non* of intercultural communication, it is also an important principle, in other communication disciplines such as interpersonal communication and small group communication. A leading communication theorist observed that "the prime obstacle of every form of communications. . .is simply the fact of difference. On this point most serious students of communication are in agreement, the great gap in background, experience and motivations between ourselves and those with whom we could communicate. . . .It is a gap that will remain. . . .But if we cannot close the gap we must acknowledge it. For this acknowledgement of difference is the vital preface to all the efforts that follow."[12] To acknowledge differences and to recognize their effects are easy in theory but more difficult in practice, especially since much of the work on human communications has focused on the notion of commonality of experience between the participants.

[The postulates of difference and of variability are the challenges of intercultural communication for it is not bound by the traditional constraints which have narrowed the focus of the various other disciplines subsumed under the rubric of human communication.]. The principles of variability and of difference which have become the foundation of intercultural communication theory have guided the development of a more general conception of the relationship between culture and communication. The next step is to explain the differential elaborations of culture from what is common to all men to what particular communities and individuals have made of it.

Goals of Intercultural Communication

The aim of intercultural communication is to unite theory and practice in order 1) to better understand the process of communication among persons of different cultural, racial, and ethnic backgrounds, 2) to help individuals to function more effectively in multicultural, multiracial and/or multi-ethnic environments, 3) to expand people's awareness of the role of culture in intergroup relations, 4) to reinforce cultural awareness and identity and 5) to help individuals become better communicators.

Implications of Intercultural Communication for Bilingual and Bicultural Education

The goals discussed above have an important bearing on work in bilingual and bicultural education. Intercultural communication can be a source of data as well as provide insights into specific problems related to bilingualism and biculturalism in intergroup interaction. Suitable materials for inclusion into a bilingual and a bicultural curriculum can be drawn from data on minority group cultures and communication codes that form a part of the content of intercultural communication. Studies on cultural variability make it possible for educators to inquire into the consequences of such variations for acculturation and for adaptation of individuals, when they move between cultures. Some of the methods used in intercultural training can be adapted for teaching instructional personnel in bicultural education so as to raise their level of awareness of the role of culture in symbolic intergroup interaction and to improve their skills as intercultural communicators.[13] This is particularly valuable for teachers who will be dealing with children whose values and language may be different from their own. The content and methods employed in research and in teaching intercultural communication make one aware of the relativity of one's own group's standard. Such awareness may be a step towards the elimination of social and economic discrimination – an important goal in bilingual and bicultural education. The understanding and the promotion of cultural and linguistic diversity – salient points in intercultural communication – may make understanding of other groups and their problems less difficult.

In the debate over whether government policy should be one of cultural pluralism or minority assimilation in the United States, intercultural communication can make an important contribution in the selection and shaping of that policy.

Much of the subject matter of intercultural communication is drawn from disciplines in which concern for intergroup relations, problems of education and problems of social change find expression. Many of the field's theoretical underpinnings have been derived from the various disciplines which share an interest in the subjects of symbolic interaction and cross-cultural relations. These disciplines are anthropology, linguistics, political science, psychology, sociology, and speech communication.

The primary notions that underlie the conceptual development of intercultural communication are "culture" and "communication." *Culture* includes beliefs, attitudes and values, roles and role relationships, language and other communication codes, and social, political and economic institutions and their functions. *Communication* includes participants in communicative events, channels and their modes of use, codes shared by various participants, settings in which communication takes place forms of messages and ther genres, the contents of messages and the communicative events themselves.[7]

Culture Defined

Culture has been defined in many ways.[8] In this article, culture will be used to refer to the sum total of the learned behaviors of a group of people which are transmitted from generation to generation, which are generally considered by these people to constitute their tradition, and which serve them as potential guides for action. "A culture establishes categories of we-ness and they-ness and attaches these categories to individuals or collectivities."[9] Culture has a pervasive effect on the functions of society in the sense that it establishes distinctive patterns of adjustment, of attitudes and of behaviors among its members. Culture mediates relationships among men and between man and his environment. Man's culture provides him with a general cognitive framework for an understanding of, and for functioning in his world. Culture is a means through which his life activities can be ranked in terms of importance and of immediacy. Culture provides man the context which allows him to communicate something about himself to others.

The ability to communicate something about oneself to another has enabled man to maintain and to survive in his society. Communication and society are so interdependent that a leading scholar has defined the latter as "people in communication."[10]

Communication Defined

The term "communication" also has a broad range of meanings. Nevertheless three main ones can be singled out. (1) It is a symbolic act. (2) It involves the transfer of messages. (3) It is a social process. When we refer to communication as a symbolic act, we are alluding to the various codes that man uses as he interacts with fellow man. These codes may take linguistic, para-linguistic, kinesic, spatial, temporal, pictorial, notational and other forms. Alone or in combination, these forms are used to transmit messages. What are involved in the transfer of messages are the processes of production, transmission and reception of "matter energy units" which are imbedded in the symbol system of the participants. Communication is the result of such transfer. Communication as a social process refers to the act of relating oneself to another person, to a group, to a society and to a nation. Subsequently, it serves to maintain those relationships that are necessary for man's self concept and social identity.

FOOTNOTES

[1]Mark Lester. "Bilingual Education in the United States." *Topics in Cultural Learning*, Vol. 2. Honolulu: East-West Culture Learning Institute, 1974. p. 137.

[2]Manuel Pacheco. "Approaches to Bilingualism: Recognition of a Multilingual Society." *In The Britannica Review of Foreign Language Education*, Vol. 3. Chicago: Encyclopedia Britannica, Inc., 1971. pp. 98-99.

[3]Horacio Ulibari, as quoted by M. Pacheco. *Ibid*, p. 100.

[4]See Greenberg (1971), Hymes (1964), Lambert (1972), and Hoijer (1954) which are some of the major publications on the subject.

[5]Harry Hoijer, "The Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis." Reprinted from *Language and Culture*, (H. Hoijer, ed.) in Samovar and Porter (1972), p. 116.

[6]Clyde Kluckhohn. "The Gift of Tongues" reprinted from *Mirror for Man* (C. Kluckhohn, ed.) in Samovar and Porter (1972), p. 113.

[7]These factors were interpolated from Hymes' article, "Toward Ethnographies of Communication" which first appeared in "The Ethnography of Communication," (special publication) *American Anthropologist*, v. 66, Part 2, and which now appears in a somewhat updated version of *Foundations in Sociolinguistics*, p. 10.

[8]See, for example, "The Concept of Culture" by C. Kluckhohn and W. Kelly in *The Science of Man in the World Crisis*, edited by Ralph Linton (1945) and A. Kroeber's *Anthropology: Culture Patterns and Processes*, (1948) to mention two classic works on the subject. Two of the later works are: C. Geertz (ed), *Understanding Culture* (1973) and E.T. Hall, *The Silent Language* (1959).

[9]S.J. Makielski, Jr. *Beleaguered Minorities: Cultural Politics in America*. San Francisco: W.H. Freeman and Company, 1973. p. 13.

[10]Colin Cherry. *World Communication: Threat or Promise*. A Sociotechnical Approach. New York: Wiley – Interscience, 1971. p. 5.

[11]Ronald Appibaum, *et al*., *Fundamental Concepts in Human Communication*. San Francisco: Canfield Press, 1973. p. 9.

[12]William Haney. "Perception and Communication." In *Basic Readings in Interpersonal Communication*. K. Giffin and B. Patton (eds.) New York: Harper and Row, 1971. p. 149.

[13]Some of the intercultural training methodologies are:

a. the Intercultural Communication Workshop
b. the Culture Assimilator

c. the Contrast-Culture

For content and evaluation of these methods see Hoopes (1971) and Brislin (1970).

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THE MULTINATIONAL BUSINESS ORGANIZATION: A SCHEMA FOR THE TRAINING OF OVERSEAS PERSONNEL IN COMMUNICATION

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FORWARD:

American businesses, government agencies, and cultural organizations are engaging increasingly in multinational activities.[1] Such activities place Americans and the constituents they represent in different cultural contexts that involve and require adjustment and adaptation to situations and people with different value systems and behavior patterns. In such cross-cultural contexts behavior has frequently baffled both Americans and their foreign counterparts. Stress, hostility, distrust, and misunderstandings are not uncommon outcomes at such encounters. However, since more American personnel are going overseas, and since their contacts are frequently important to the effectiveness of their organizations as well as the American image and foreign policy, the increasing need for training management and overseas personnel in appropriate behavior in cross-cultural contexts is apparent.

The intent of this article is to focus on the primary cross-cultural verbal and nonverbal communication elements entailed in the behaviors of personnel in multinational organizations. A schema for the training of overseas personnel is proposed in addition to examples of different problems arising in cross-cultural contacts.

MINIMAL REQUIREMENTS IN AN OVERSEAS TRAINING PROGRAM:

Various elements in cross-cultural communication are so important that failing to understand them is to invite disaster. The following schema for the training of overseas personnel has been developed with the intent of promoting more effective communication. The format considers the North American cultural orientation in contrast with the traditional societies' approaches. The schema represents a continuum for observing and classifying a wide range of culturally-determined behaviors. It should be noted, however, that a mere reading of the schema is not sufficient to explain another culture, but it may suggest areas that need further examination. Individual countries, even though they fall within a particular classification of cultural patterns, still have many individual ethnocentric behaviors peculiar to their countries.

SCHEMA:

In a training program it is not sufficient to bring in natives to discuss their culture, neither is it adequate to depend on an experienced American. Edward T. Hall says that people typically do not understand their own cultures well enough to structure meaningful analytical frameworks that provide comprehensible guidelines to prevent cross-cultural communication problems.[2] Handbooks purporting to describe the cultures of target countries are typically superficial. In addition, such handbooks ignore reactions at the feeling level. What is needed is a training program that:

(1) considers the variables in the proposed schema
(2) relates specifically to the target country and culture
(3) utilizes trained leaders who understand both cultures
(4) gives the participants experiences reflecting the effects of culture shock through training programs which involve the individual in activities such as role playing,

interaction systems and feedback activites.

The following schema is introduced with these goals in mind. The areas covered deal with some of the most recurrent behavioral variables involved in cross-cultural communication breakdowns. Even though the categories in the schema may interrelate or occasionally overlap, the intent has been to arrange them in an order of a likelihood of priorities of occurrence in interactional contexts.

SCHEMA FOR THE TRAINING OF OVERSEAS PERSONNEL

APPROACH TO LIFE	LINGUISTIC & PARALINGUISTIC INTERACTIONAL BEHAVIOR	ASPECTS OF NONVERBAL NORMS	SUPERIOR–SUBORDINATE RELATIONSHIPS	SOCIAL VALUES	IDENTITY AND STATUS	MOBILITY AS A VARIABLE	CONCEPT OF FRIENDSHIP	VIEWS OF THE FUTURE
North American Cultural Orientation	1 Message straightforward: "tell it like it is" 2 Minimal use of honorifics 3 Voice level high in casual interaction	1 Territoriality a. need for more space in interpersonal communication b. concept of hospitality varies with the individual 2 Tactility minimal in interactions & infrequent between members of the same sex 3 Time Concept a. Physiological cycle b. Cultural: (1) Social time (2) Business time	1 On the job: a. Democratic, minimal status differences b. mainly a work relationship based on job needs 2 Off the job: a. superior is friendly b. expected superior involvement in employees' lives minimal	1 Nuclear family 2 Individual autonomous unrestricted, acts for himself 3 Women's place often professedly equal to males 4 Religion often not important	1 Mainly derived from one's job or profession and/or clubs, least from one's family 2 high premium on youth 3 contacts are helpful and important	1 Mobility considered a laudable asset 2 Mobility is a sign of ambition	1 Transient; dependent on status, temporal factors and geographic proximity 2 Commitment to friend only; sometimes to nuclear family of friend too	1 Strong identification with the future 2 What is new is basically good; what is old is rather suspect

	LINGUISTIC & PARALINGUISTIC INTERACTIONAL BEHAVIOR	ASPECTS OF NONVERBAL FORMS	SUPERIOR–SUBORDINATE RELATIONSHIPS	SOCIAL VALUES	IDENTITY AND STATUS	MOBILITY AS A VARIABLE	CONCEPT OF FRIENDSHIP	VIEWS OF THE FUTURE
A Traditional Society's Orientation	1 Message often couched in elaborate verbal wrappings 2 Maximum and involved use of honorifics 3 Voice level low in casual interaction	1 Territoriality a. need for less space in interpersonal communication b. concept of hospitality related to obligations and guest-host roles 2 Tactility not infrequent between members of the same sex in daily interactions 3 Time Concept a. Physiological cycle b. Cultural Diff: (1) Social Time (2) Business time	1 On the job: a. Authoritarian maximal status differences b. Mainly an interpersonal relationship 2 Off the job: a. Superior is a friend and a model b. superior expected to support, help, advise and patronize subordinates	1 Extended family 2 Individual often has restricted autonomy, primarily behaves and views self as representative of the family or clan 3 Women's place often assumed behind the males 4 Religion often important	1 Mainly derived from one's family and/or job or profession, least from one's clubs 2 high premium on age 3 contacts are helpful and important	1 Length of service considered an asset 2 Length of service is a sign of loyalty and dependability	1 Permanent; transcends status, time, and geography 2 Commitment strong and often expanding to a friend's extended family	1 Strong identification with the past 2 What is old is basically good; what is new is rather suspect.

PROBLEM ILLUSTRATION:

In the study of organizational behavior, one of the important areas to investigate is the field context with its implied variables of geographic location and interactional behavior norms. For example, a U.S. business concern with international branches in Britain and Switzerland should have a different set of field operational patterns and managerial styles from another U.S. business concern with international branches in Libya and Saudi Arabia. In both cases, oil may be the business of the two multi-national organizations. In both cases, the two firms may have training programs for their North American personnel intended for overseas work. But, the environmental expectations and the fluid and shifting realties of existence for the two organizations in question, in their overseas fields of operation are often vastly different.

For instance, let us hypothesize and consider an American oil producing and manufacturing company in the Middle East, in an oil-rich underdeveloped country. The land is sparsely populated. It is a vast desert with few oases inhabited mainly by nomadic tribes united under an authoritarian system with a booming, expanding economy since the discovery and production of oil. The great majority of the populace, however, still live in extreme poverty.

The oil company's contract with the national government requires that the company provide adequate training for the natives so that they can eventually take over the exploration, production, and manufacturing of oil in the country. Consequently, the company develops, conducts, and operates, directly or indirectly, different training programs in the Middle Eastern country.

Linguistic interactional behavior is probably the first form of communication to occur between parties. Consider the native employee who walks into an American supervisor's office for a friendly "hello," or for some personal business or grievance. This gesture is not an infrequent occurrence if the fellow finds himself in the neighborhood. The casual American phatic communion behavior of "Hi! How're you?" and "Let's get down to business" would be crude and unmannerly by the native's standards. Reactions such as "Americans don't care for people. They only care about business and money. They're inhuman!" are projected and reinforced in the native's mind. After all, he has had a first-hand experience with Americans. Essentially, the Middle Eastern and American orientations toward the interactional temporal cycles of a business setting are different. Whereas in the U.S., civilities are briefly exchanged at the beginning of the interaction and a little more elaborately at the end of the meeting, in the Middle East, cultural norms call for an exchange of civilities at the beginning *and* end of the interaction with maximum use of honorifics,[3] and a brief repetition of the meeting's purpose, decisions, promises or apologies made *again* at the parting of the interactants.

On the other hand, the paralinguistic elements in the discourse can often change the meaning of the messages exchanged. For example, the American supervisor acting friendly by U.S. standards may ask his employee about his sick wife. The employees stutters, mumbles something, and the supervisor nods contentedly. Later on, the employee thinks that the supervisor was vulgar and crude. The supervisor used the same conversational voice level in asking the employee about his wife – a private subject, according to the cultural norms, that is not usually referred to in a public setting in a regular voice level.[4]

In terms of nonverbal forms of communication, the native employee may have felt uncomfortable because of the physical distance that separated him and his supervisor during

their interaction. For instance, the employee may have felt that the American supervisor was uninvolved and impersonal. He sat far away from him, as if he were barricaded behind a large desk with a typewriter on a table blocking one side and a telephone on another table blocking the other side. At the same time, the supervisor may have arranged it that way to avoid "those native employees who seemed unable to talk unless they were so offensively close, by U.S. standards, that they seemed to bathe one in their breath!" The native who walked into the American supervisor's office expected a handshake at the beginning and end of the meeting even though he may be seeing the American every day. He was also in the supervisor's office, his physical territory and domain, and the American had not even offered the native coffee or tea. The native assumes, "Americans must be miserly! They have no sense of hospitality and obligation when a guest is in their territory."[5] The American, by U.S. cultural standards, may have brilliantly, succinctly, logically, and honestly disposed of the situation or explained away the native's causes of complaint, and the native leaves the office more dissatisfied than when he walked in, primarily because of unfamiliarity with and a misunderstanding of the nature of nonverbal interaction in an American business setting.

Other realistic examples of breakdowns caused by differences in cross-cultural nonverbal communication patterns are numerous and complex. In the hypothetical oil company, in that Middle Eastern country during a coffee break, a friendly American supervisor may ask his employee to sit down for a chat. The employee may sit in the only chair by the desk, facing the soles of the shoes of the relaxed supervisor who may have his feet on the desk. Later on, the supervisor may be surprised at the unfriendliness, if not downright curtness, of his employee who, in turn, would probably be considering all sorts of schemes to get back at the supervisor who (the employee thinks) was deliberately rude and insulting. "Imagine the man having me sit facing the soles of his shoes!" A terrible offense according to the cultural behavior norms of hospitality.[6]

By and large, cross-cultural nonverbal communication breakdowns are caused by failure to see, interpret, and understand behavior rituals and patterns in their situational contexts. For instance, interactions in the Middle East are marked by considerable tactility between members of the same sex. To the stranger, interacting females, or interacting males seem to be always touching, holding, or shaking hands with each other. The culturally sensitive American who indulges in the behavior with the natives usually reminds his fellow nationals of a politician running for an office in the United States! Yet such understanding and conformity to native nonverbal norms of behavior usually enhance communication effects.

The impact of the time cycle on an interaction is easily reflected on the physiological level in the hour of day for each party. For example, the American supervisor at the end of the shift may sound weary, cool, or uninterested to an employee who has just arrived to work. The native, however, may be insulted because the meaning of business and social time is a function of the cultural interpretation of what is punctual, or early, or late which traditional cultures place in different perspectives according to the interactions with superiors, subordinates, or peers.

In the next category more consideration is given to superior-subordinate relationships. The vital dicta of communication in such a relationship may greatly influence the success or failure of a business venture. Consider the native mentioned earlier who was accustomed to his traditional society's orientation to life, and who was treated in typical American fashion, or brusquely, according to his cultural norms. When he walked into the American's office, he

may not have wanted action but a sympathetic, listening ear. Probably he only wanted a rap session with an understanding, compassionate superior who, according to the cultural values, represents authority or a father figure, even though the native employee may be in this situation 20 years older than the American supervisor.[7]

However, superior-subordinate relationships may have more significant problematic dimensions. For example, an American in a supervisory position in an oil company in the Middle East is placed in a role different from that of a peer in the U.S. Middle Eastern employees have sets of expectations of their supervisors different from those of American employees. In traditional Middle Eastern countries a supervisor's job is not expected to be limited to and does not end with the eight-hour business work day. A supervisor is not only responsible for his employees' on-the-job performance but also their welfare and problems and worries off the job. The native employee looks up to his supervisor for moral and material counsel, help, and guidance in matters that range from sanitary living conditions, problems with the wife or children or a 70-year-old father who wants to get married to an 18-year-old daughter of a friend, to advice on a home ownership plan or a life insurance policy. The supervisor, in a sense, plays a functional role where the native employee unconsciously equates him with an elder wiseman or a tribal chief. To the native, the American superior is an acting, talking, and living symbol of that rich, powerful, vast complex that is the oil company. An organization that hires, fires, promotes, demotes, enriches, and impoverishes whomever it chooses. The native's notions are reinforced by the popular folklore which is rich with stories of people made and unmade by the oil companies. Thus, the American supervisor is regarded as having access to, while being simultaneously an extension of those omnipotent powers: oil, industry, America, and success. All are entities regularly observed and watched on television programs, movies, and the daily life of the wealthy trimmings and comforts of the American oil communities in the field.

The above illustration also exemplifies several aspects of the "social values" category of the proposed schema. The native's expectations of his American superior far exceed the ones he has of his tribal chief. The employee has become no more a nomadic Bedouin, but rather a settler in a semi-urban environment enriched by many American-made material accouterments such as motor cars, televisions, and refrigerators. Basically, however, the semi-Westernized-looking native is still part and parcel of the social structure of the country. The recently settled Bedouin is part of a vertical hierarchy where people relate to each other according to their positions on the ancestral social ladder. Only a transference process has taken place where the American supervisor has been endowed with the prestige, privileges, and problems of a tribal chief's position. In other words, in seeking the welfare of his employees, the American supervisor is expected to be an active part of his employees' private lives which is a role that has often irritated, worried, baffled, and unbalanced many an American overseas. Since in American culture social affability and interest in others are laudable qualities distinct from the condemnable social behavior of interferring and assuming roles in other people's private lives, the paradox in which the American supervisor finds himself is understandable. On the other hand, the degree of social interaction that the American supervisor indulges in perplexes and confuses the native who fails to see the American distinction between sociability and meddling in another's life. This confusion creates havoc with the native's expectations of his American supervisor and with the entailed contextual social values that influence daily existence. The result is often frustration and disenchantment of both parties with each other.

Another disastrous example of miscomprehension of value systems in multinational settings is illustrated in the following situation. Partly to improve the quality of life of the native employees and consequently their performance and production on the job, and partly to combat attacks on what anti-U.S. propagandists term "American-imperialist exploitation of the national resources" the hypothetical oil company undertakes the construction of public facilities. Outpatient clinics, hospitals, and schools are built. Housing projects for the employees are constructed with modern, sanitary bathroom facilities that the employees simply refuse to use. Later on, it turns out that the employees are not really opposed to better living conditions, but that the toilet users would have to sit with their "fannies" facing Mecca, an extreme insult and a sacrilege that some native Moslems may decide must be the deliberate work of the Devil's representatives: the American managers!

Identity and status are also extremely important concepts relevant to integrity and ethos in a communicative situation. There are situational codes where financial status and age of the guest and host determine the rules of the ritual. For instance, a chance meeting in a cafe between friends or business acquaintances of equal financial and social status makes of the one who arrives first and is already seated at a table, the host, and the late arrival, the guest. The host then offers his table and available refreshment to the guest who may accept if he is free, or he may thankfully decline. In a situation involving two persons of unequal financial statuses the individual who takes and pays the check is usually the one who belongs to the higher socio-economic class. However, the other party offers, attempts, and physically tries to pay the check, but is refused by the fellow who is better off financially. Thus "face" and social amenities are preserved. The understood assumption and underlying values are the cultural "facts" that the individual who pays the check is honored by the act and his superior status is subtly recognized.

The complexity of the situation can be easily illustrated if we consider a cross-cultural context where an American supervisor runs into one of his native employees in the company snack bar or in a public cafe. Frequently, the American supervisor will find that he is continuously treated by the subordinates he encounters whenever the check arrives. At first, he may object and attempt to pay for his drink, but he finds that the other party is already paying for the two of them. Embarrassed, he mumbles a "thank you." The second or third time he encounters the same individual in a similar context he attempts to pay for the two of them and is again vehemently refused by the native. The American supervisor feels uncomfortable but keeps quiet, while the native thinks the American is only pretending at attempting to pay. "He doesn't struggle or try forcefully to pay. Americans must be cheap," the native surmises.

However, the dimensions of the issue of status are not really as clear and simple as they might seem in the preceding paragraphs because social interaction with regard to status and identity in the Middle East is also, in a sense, a matter of paradoxical reciprocity. It is not a *quid pro quo*, a measure for measure, but rather something like "each according to his ability and position" with the honors and prestige to whoever gives, entertains, and pays most. It is a continuous process in which individuals are always interacting as hosts or as guests, givers or receivers of hospitality.

In business and social functions, Middle Easterners expect special deference for and care of the elderly employee, though he may not be the head man of his team.[8] On or off the job, scolding or correcting an elderly employee in public does not only embarrass him alone, but

also all the present younger employees. In both cases of business or social interactions, managers are positioned in and equated with the roles of the hosts and employees the guests with subsequent territorial obligations and situational expectations on the part of each with a primary underlying theme of veneration of age.

In terms of mobility, traditionalist societies associate the highly mobile with shiftiness and unreliability. The individual who changes jobs two or three times is branded "a job hopper."[9] Length of service is a sign of loyalty and dependability. In sharp contrast, Americans feel that mobility is a sign of ability, motivation, ambition, and such similar qualities that are in demand by growing organizations.

Added to that is the fact that the concept of friendship in both cultures is different. The actual geographical size of the U.S. and the degree and ease of physical and social mobility in the country have created certain connotations for the word "friendship." Friends are made, dropped, and picked up again depending on where one is at a certain point. Whereas in traditional societies, friendship is an unending responsibility and a lifetime commitment that extends beyond an individual's life to that of his children and relatives. It is an intensely personal relationship with a sense of obligation that entails a lot of sharing of one's life. The American and the native often find themselves in ambiguous situations because of their different levels of expectations and their failure to understand the meaning of friendship in each other's cultures.

Finally, as one would expect the traditionalist views the old and more conservative approach as an ample guide or pattern for behavior in the future. The American, however, always tries to push forward into new frontiers, seeking a new and a better way to attain his business goals. These differing views of the future stem in part from the Americans' dominant perception of the world as "material rather than spirit (or idea, essence, will or process), and should be exploited for the material benefit of man."[10] The traditionalist prefers to leave life and nature as they are. He continues to identify the past with what is secure, tried, and valued.

CONCLUSION

Primary, effective communication in the multinational business organization is a task that requires awareness of the host culture's basic orientation toward life and the place of the individual in the scheme of existence. The desired program goals of the schema proposed in this paper are:

(1) to familiarize overseas targeted personnel with some vital areas of potential communicative disharmony.

(2) to indicate the desired expectations of the members of the targeted host culture.

(3) to encourage overseas targeted personnel to learn to function effectively with ease and comfort in an environment where surrounding behaviors may be unfamiliar.

(4) to develop, ideally, managers whose understanding of others is enhanced through their knowledge of themselves and their culture.

However, in the organizational business setting, a company may decide that it is not interested in nor does it have the time and the resources to have the native cultural behavior patterns of its foreign fields of operation studied and understood by its overseas personnel. We believe, however, that in order to achieve success a program introducing the societal structure of the organization's foreign fields of operation and the nature of relationships in such societies are minimal musts for overseas employees. The schema presented in this paper covers the essential basic behavioral components that constitute the nucleus in such training programs.

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[1]The authors gratefully acknowledge the constructive reactions of Dr. David H. Smith, Associate Dean of Research, Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio, during the initial development of the schema.

The term "American" is used throughout the paper to refer to North American.

[2]Edward T. Hall, *The Silent Language*, Fawcett Publications, Inc., Greenwich, Connecticut, 1959.

[3]In American English honorifics are reflected in the use of certain titles, while in several other languages they are shown in the use of certain pronouns or complimentary prefixes or suffixes, and titles, too.

[4]For a detailed treatment of the role of women across cultures see: J. G. Peristiany, Ed., *Honor & Shame*, Widenfeld and Nicolson, England, 1965.

[5]A detailed study of guest-host relationships appears in Fathi S. Yousef, *Cross-Cultural Social Communicative Behavior: Egyptians in the U.S.*, University Microfilms, Ann Arbor, Michigan, 1972.

[6]Fathi S. Yousef, "Cross-Cultural Testing: An Aspect of the Resistance Reaction," *Language Learning*, XVIII, 3-4, 1968, pp. 227-234.

[7]A parallel example from Latin America appears in E. Hall and W. Whyte's "Intercultural Communication: A Guide to Men of Action," *Human Organization*, 19, pp. 7-12, 1960.

[8]Fathi S. Yousef, "Cross-Cultural Testing: An Aspect of the Resistance Reaction," *Language Learning*, XVIII, 3-4, 1968, pp. 227-234.

[9]That value is held in societies in Europe where Germany and France are examples, and in the Middle East as in Egypt and Syria, and in the Far East where India and Japan are other examples.

[10]E. C. Stewart, J. Danielson, and R. J. Foster, "Simulating Intercultural Communication Through Role-Playing," Human Resources Office Publication, May, 1969, p. 16.

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INTERNATIONAL AND INTERCULTURAL COMMUNICATION ANNUAL

MINORITARIANISM AND ETHNIC GROUPS COMMUNICATION

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Many of the large and growing number of ethnic and other minority communication studies can be criticized on at least three grounds.[1]

1. They place too much emphasis on the pathologies of language or mass media usage.
2. They lack an adequate conceptual basis; they make little use of concepts that have theoretic and systematic import.
3. They fail to distinguish minority communication studies from intercultural, inter-ethnic or even international communication studies.

These problems exist primarily because most of the studies are organism-centered. In that sense, they attempt to find the deficiencies of specified ethnic or other minority groups from a socio-anthropological perspective. This perspective views a minority as a given and constant entity with ascertainable demographic characteristics. The process or interactive aspect of minority communications which is relational, dynamic, and diachronic, is, therefore, neglected.

Although some mass media-studies do focus on the relational aspects of minority communications, these studies generally take the "treatment" viewpoint which seeks to find how the mass media treat and, therefore, perpetuate or reduce prejudicial attitudes towards ethnic and other minority groups in society.[2] As such, these studies fall within the general rubric of "effects of discrimination" studies which have been criticized on such methodological grounds as the use of standardized white middle-class personality inventories and the failure to recognize that cultural differences interact with patterns of discrimination to produce individual and group reactions. There is also the problem of biased interpretation of data whereby prejudice in the majority group, for example, is explained as reflecting normal incorporation into and adjustment to aspects of social institutions rather than reflecting personal pathology.[3]

The difficulty of distinguishing among minority, inter-ethnic, intercultural, and international communication studies is understandable because (a) there are high correlations among some of the attributes of the poor and those of some ethnic minorities and (b) all communication is cultural to some extent; communication being a significant part of culture. Culture, in fact, has been defined "as a system in which messages cultivate and regulate the relations between people."[4]

This article conceptualizes minoritarianism from the perspective of communication and then presents a content analysis of a Black student-newspaper to illustrate and describe some of the processes which take place in ethnic minority-majority communication contexts.

THE CONCEPT OF MINORITARIANISM

Minoritarianism, which is a variable, rather than minority, which is usually viewed as a constant, would allow a more adequate consideration of the relational, process, contextual, and rule-oriented nature of communication. Communication is defined here as symbolic

interaction involving verbal and non-verbal processes with different degrees of explicitness.[5] The use of minoritarianism would also clarify how minority-majority communication is, in inter-ethnic contexts, confounded by ethnic group processes to produce certain peculiarities of communication.

Minoritarianism is defined formally here as a relational, diachronic, and dynamic concept that is complementary to majoritarianism (or dominance) in a system of power imbalance (that is, of communication control), in which the dominant subsystem retains the power to make formal and informal rules governing communicative interaction between it and the minority subsystem and in which the minority is, thereby, objectively and subjectively deprived.

The concept has meaning only with reference to a specified environment. Although theoretically applicable to most communication situations, it has definitive and practical import only in those (persistent) situations in which the assignment of the attributes of dominance and minority is based on a reified and stereotypical social and objective reality, determined either by discriminatory low valuation of the communicative competencies of one subsystem and/or by previous deprivation by the other subsystem.

The crucial variable in the analysis of minoritarianism is power with reference to operative communication rules of which the dimensions of understanding, clarity, range, specificity, and homogeneity have been mentioned.[6]

A certain degree of clarity and accurate understanding of the operative rules by the parties in interaction is necessary for effective communication to take place.[7]

Unequal distribution of the power to determine the propriety and dimensions of operative communication rules among participants in a communication system is a sufficient condition for minoritarianism. The significant power and influence exercised by one systematic component over the other is that of imposition of sets of rules of communication.

Since individuals bring different sets of communication rules to the (communication) situation, the transactional process of achieving consensus or compromise on the rules is said to be part of the process of communication. As Cushman and Whiting put it,[8] this transactional process

> involves the projection of one's rules, their testing in the crucible of interaction, and the emergence of understandings or rules lead to understanding of information. *The transaction may be dominated by one individual with power to impose his view of the world, his procedures, his content – his rules – on others.* (italics are mine.)

The control over rules enables the dominate component in the communication system to determine the pattern of communication. The best communication is that which enables a symmetrical, reciprocal relationship. However, an asymmetrical communicative relationship could be established in which "one component is the causal agent and another is the affected object."[9]

When communication takes on this synchronic character which lacks multiple, complex, or

plural social causation or influence, minoritarianism is said to exist in the communication situation.

A MINORITY

As conceptualized here, different degrees of minoritarianism exist in different communication situations. At the interpersonal level of communication, for instance, the necessary and sufficient condition for minoritarianism may exist without there being *a minority* (implying a persistent and high degree of minoritarianism) since the situation may be very dynamic with communicator roles constantly changing. Also, those situations in which the domination of one individual by another is the result of such personal communicator attributes as expertise and the like, are of a special order.

It is at the inter-group level of communication that power imbalance – the basic condition of minoritarianism – becomes compounded by group processes to produce persistent processes of discrimination and deprivation.

The significant group processes are *identity* of group members, *stereotyping* and *reification* of group attributes, as well as *discrimination* and *deprivation*. These processes always impair effective communication. But when the groups involved are ethnic and power-stakes are high, the intensity of primordial ties and sentiments combined with mistrust of out-groups often leads to polarization of the groups and consequently greater malfunctioning of the communication processes.[10] In such situations, the source of a communication (the "who") becomes more important than what is communicated (the "what").[11] Under these circumstances, communication becomes an intransigent power encounter.

The arena for such intergroup encounters is the national society (and its administrative and institutional subunits), because this is the operative level at which those resources or facilities that determine communicative capacities are differentially allocated. The physical or cultural attributes (example – racial, religious) that discriminate between members of the national minorities and those of the majority may, of course, go beyond the boundaries of the society.

The physical and cultural characteristics of the majority group and those of the minority serve as foci of identity and as objects and subjects of stereotyping and reification for the respective members. However, the control by the majority group over the rules and facilities for communication enables it to impose its own set of rules as the societal or community standard.

The rules include not only the agenda for further allocation of facilities for communication, but also the valuation of those physical and cultural attributes which serve as basic communicative facilities for members of the respective groups. The majority group is, therefore, able to assign high values to its own attributes and low values to minority attributes. When this discriminatory assignment of values is made the basis of resource allocation, the minority becomes deprived. However, the members of the minority group must be individually and collectively aware of the deprivation for it to be socially significant.

In the process of reification and stereotyping in minority-majority communications, the most distinguishing and generalized physical or cultural mark of identify for members of

each group, becomes the criterion-determinant of values placed on all other attributes that make up the image of the group.

In stereotyping, these attributes are homogenized by the other-group members by assigning them with equal strength to individual members of the group in all relevant situations. In reification, the members of the group homogenize in-group members by equally assigning them to the attributes that constitute the generalized image of the in-group.

ANALYSIS OF A MINORITY MEDIUM

Because the mass media as cultural institutions are among the most important channels through which groups express their collective images and communicate with other groups, their contents are partly the result of reification, stereotyping and other group processes. And because ethnic minority media usually emphasize leadership functions, their contents are good indices of the group's primary themes or goals which all significant minority groups have even if individual members are divided on policy.[12]

A minority may seek, for instance, to achieve assimilation into, pluralism with, or secession from the majority group. It may also seek a reversal of the status quo by which it puts itself in a dominant position vis-a-vis the majority group. The choice and application of these themes in general depend on a number of contextual or situational factors such as the type of minority, the presence of such catalysts as organizers and mass media, the type and intensity of repression or rejection, as well as the group identity, claims, and expectations.[13] College students, women, and a variety of ethnic groups, for instance, do not seek the same goals even though all consider themselves minorities in certain contexts.

The case study reported here identifies the dominant themes of a publication that proclaimed itself spokesman of a specified minority. I hope, through content analysis, to provide more insight into the concept of minoritarianism in minority communications.

The setting of the study is a non-urban state university campus located in the southern coastal area of Rhode Island. Black students constitute about one percent of a student population of approximately twelve thousand. There is a black-student organization called by the Swahili name of Uhuru Sasa (Freedom Now). The black population in Rhode Island is similarly small and concentrated in the state capital, about thirty miles north of the university.

The campus has one major student newspaper, financed by a student-activities tax and, therefore, controlled by the study body through its Senate. A campus radio station is similarly financed and controlled. A local weekly newspaper serves the community surrounding the university. Statewide print and broadcast media are also easily available on campus.

In 1972, the Student Senate received requests for and decided to finance two alternative publications – *The Black Gold* and *The Moustache* – both appearing irregularly for about one year.[14] These two publications had at least one thing in common: they believed the "establishment" – student media, the newspaper and the radio, were inadequate to serve the diversified information needs of the campus.

The *Black Gold*, edited and staffed by black students, published its first issue on October 12, 1972, declaring itself "a realistic means of ending any existing communications problems between the Black Community-campus population." It went on, "In order to grow and develop community power, we must develop communication power."[15]

It was not evident, however, whether the paper was referring to the black community on campus or throughout the state of Rhode Island, because the editorial went on, "It is time Black people possessed and controlled their own news media. We have suffered too long the distortion and indifference of the now-present white news publications."[16] The paper then pledged to publish materials relevant to Black peoples "from a totally Black perspective."

It is clear that the purpose of the paper was to bolster the identity of the Black Community – something, with which, as the paper put it, black peoples can identify. In its first issue the paper wrote of the black renaissance, of breaking away from white standards of beauty, of black political crossroads, and of the implementation of the black agenda which would change the American political arena.

Other features in the issue included an interview, "The Black Student Dilemma," in which some black students expressed discontent and depression about being part of a predominantly white campus community; a personality feature on "The Rising of a Black Woman," describing the self-reliance and occupational rise of a black woman who holds an administrative position on campus; the acquisition of a new headquarters by the Afro-American Society (Uhuru Sasa); and "Thoughts on Black Studies" in which the director of the Black Studies program emphasized the obligation to use education as a social tool.

This eight-page issue also provided some statistics on the black population in the state of Rhode Island, and on the county and racial distribution of family-income and poverty-status. There were several poems whose general theme is the creativity of black people.

The type of "relevant" information the paper published did not, on the whole, lend itself to presentation within the conventional format of a newspaper. The content and its structural arrangement were unorthodox. Only one item in this first issue can be classified as "news" by traditional standards.

The last issue of the paper (December 19, 1973) was as noteworthy as the first, for it was essentially a reaction to the cessation of funding by the student senate. The editors who seemed aware of the financially precarious position of the paper from the beginning, now agreed that it was, indeed, a black community paper rather than a student paper, an argument the Student Senate used in cutting off funding. The editors, opined, however, that the paper was an "educational, cultural, and social tool which can contribute to educational horizons of the many naive white students unaware of black attitudes and thoughts." "With URI's dismally low minority enrollment statistics and its tragically limited minority-oriented academia," the editors went on, "the student senate was in no position to reject the small voice *Black Gold* wishes to strengthen."[17] There was an apparent misunderstanding between the Student Senate and the editors of the *Black Gold* as to the paper's aims and goals.

In submitting what they called a "proper and dignified goodbye" the editors turned for help

to Rhode Island's black-community. The editorial appeal of this last issue was very state-wide; the editorial bemoaning the dearth of black-mass media in the state where blacks were "reminded daily that white distortion is still a dismal and destructive devise. . .that presupposed white objectivity objects to black intrusion or interjection. . .that radio air waves are over-ridden with too many non-identifiable fabrications."[18]

This edition raised anew the issue of the small number of black students and staff on campus and asked whether the university was accepting its responsibilities. Other features dealt with Portuguese imperialism in Africa and with the plight of the black laborer. Rhode Island has a large Portuguese-American population.

GENERAL CONTENT

The seven other editions of *Black Gold* generally followed the same format as the first and last issues. The only exception was the April, 1973 issue devoted almost entirely to the effects of the Nixon administration's budget-cuts on Rhode Island minority programs. Otherwise, the overall content structure indicated emphasis on poetry and other feature stories with some items focusing on the university, some on the state, and some on national and international issues. There were a number of philosophical discussions, and almost every issue also contained some important statistics on the black community.

The distribution of items in all nine issues of the paper is shown in Table I. The item-count excludes poems, photographic materials, and book reviews. Table I classified the items according to racial, locational, and evaluative foci, also, whether the subject-matter is a "person" or "thing." Table II shows the distribution of *Black Gold* content according to themes.

Coding of items was simple and presented no serious validity problems. It was, therefore, easy to evaluate and place the items in the relevant categories. Overall agreement between the two coders was almost complete.

Table I clearly indicates the emphasis on black-oriented subject matters which the paper professed. Even items that were classified as having a white-institutional, or white-personality focus, were written from the point of view of the black community. An article on "Woman's Liberation and the Black Women," for instance, concludes that "one must not so easily include the Black woman in the generalized fight, for she has a separate yet significant role in the liberation of her very own."[19]

The overall impression is that of a black-white racial dichotomization, with little attempt to coalesce with other minorities. Although editorial emphasis was on the black community, the term "community" was variously interpreted as: blacks on campus; blacks in Rhode Island; blacks in the United States; and blacks all over the world. Beyond the United States, however, there was more identification with blacks on the African continent and to a lesser extent with those in the West Indies.

Most of the educational and socio-cultural items are focused on the university campus, while most of the economic and political items focus on state and national issues.

In spite of the generally aggressive editorial tone, one does not find an overwhelming

orientation towards negativism. The rather noticeable positive editorial position can be attributed to articles which were written from a perspective of black efforts which succeeded despite the institutional bias of society. This is particularly true of the personality features, which are surprisingly elitist.

The previously discussed trends also can be seen in Table II. The thematic distribution of content indicates a great deal of emphasis on both discrimination and racism as well as on the progress that black people have made. Thus, while there is much emphasis on the theme of racism and discrimination, the underlying theme is, that with effort and unity, blacks would make progress. There is an overall absence of the general feeling of powerlessness which is often considered to be a crucial attribute of minorities.

A certain amount of powerlessness can, however, be identified in some segments of the paper. An interview with black students, for example, revealed a strong feeling of degression, social isolation, dispersion, dilemma and irrelevance in "striving to obtain educational goals in an unrelative environment." "Ethnically speaking," an interviewee said, "there should be more Puerto Ricans, Chicanos, etc. . . .more different people relating together. Being around a totally dominant race is hard."[20]

But even here, one does not find the feeling of total powerlessness. For instance, one freshman commented on her reasons for attending the university:[21]

> I watch how white people have been getting on Blacks all the time...they can't stand to see us on the same level. Since I know this, I just keep pushing harder. I am here doing what they don't want me to do. White peple upset me but I know I upset them too. I keep pushing because I know someday, Black people are going to get over"

Organization

In another milieu, *Black Gold*, could have been a successful enterprise. But in the environment in which it was born it was doomed to an early death since it was anaemic both from a professional and a business point of view. The expressive outlet for black students as well as the information which the paper provided were very important. However, it had only a very small audience and very little power, thus the paper could not be "possessed and controlled by black peoples." It was, in fact, controlled by the Student Senate which used its power to cut off funding after only nine editions as the real aims of the paper became clear.

During the Senate floor-debate, some student-senators called the paper "racist," saying it was a black-community and not a student-publication. The editors of the paper agreed with the second characterization, but denied the paper was racist. Some white student-senators spoke in favor of continued funding but the majority of the Senate was against it. While members of the Student Senate were emphasizing the palatability of the contents of *Black Gold* to the entire campus community, the paper's editors emphasized the social and educational values of presenting a black perspective.

The paper did not attract a substantial readership in the black community.[22] In addition, virtually nothing was done about the business aspect of the paper. The masthead showed

that an editor-in-chief, an associate editor, two assistant editors, and a managing editor constituted the management board. A staff of five was listed, who, along with the editors, generated most of the editorial material published in the paper.[12] For all intents and purposes the paper was to be a subsidized publication like other student media on campus. Very little advertising appeared, though a lot of open space was "wasted" if one takes the point of view of conventional newspapers.

CONCLUSIONS

The available evidence indicates that pluralism is the basic theme which the *Black Gold* emphasized. The editors wanted to play some leadership role in creating a unified black community base. In this attempt they reified black peoples and homogenized black communities. Pluralism, however, implies some multiple independence of means. The management of the paper failed to acquire this through lack of time, effort, competence or for other reasons, difficult to determine. *Black Gold* proved that editorial independence can scarcely be separated from financial independence.

There is evidence in various issues of *Black Gold* to support a contention that the editors were aware of deprivation and discrimination, but while there was little feeling of powerlessness, the history of *Black Gold* tells us that the real and ultimate power over communication rules rested with the majority.

There were at least three ways in which the paper could have survived: by persuading the student body to support it, despite a "hostile" editorial bent; by creating an alternative base of support; by complying with the rules of the Student Senate. None of these alternatives were fully employed. Consequently, the problems the paper set out to solve remain.

The analysis presented here illustrated some important theoretical and practical points which include:

1. More communication, while leading to more understanding, does not necessarily lead to better relations. The content of *Black Gold* led to better understanding of the goals of its editors, but that understanding worsened the editors' relations with the Student Senate.

2. Communication at all levels is predicated upon rules which are situationally relevant and are biased in favor of the status quo. It is clear that there was initial misunderstanding between the Senate and the *Black Gold* staff regarding what the agreed-upon-rules were. Funding ceased when members of the Senate felt that the rules, as they understood them, were being violated.

3. It is questionable whether a minority medium can successfully communicate its world-view to a majority group. The case of *Black Gold* also illustrates how the communicated content of any medium can be controlled. The question thus becomes: Should the person who pays the piper always call the tune? The answer is as important to the minority-medium as it is to the conventional- or majority-medium.

FOOTNOTES

[1]Examples of studies are : Frederick Williams (ed.), *Language and Poverty: Perspectives on a Theme*, 1970; Bradley Greenberg and Brenda Dervin, *Use of the Mass Media by the Urban Poor*, 1970; E. E. Dennis and W. Rivers, *Other Voices*, 1974; T. H. Allen, "Mass Media Use Patterns in a Negro Ghetto," *Journalism Quarterly*, 1968, 45:3, 525-527; F. Fedler, "The Mass Media and Minority Groups: A Study of Adequacy of Access," *Journalism Quarterly*, 1973, 50:1, 109-117; L. Bogart, "Negro and White Media Exposure: New Evidence," *Journalism Quarterly*, 1972, 1949:1, 15-21.

[2]Examples: Jack Lyle (ed.), *The Black American and the Press*, 1968; H. Fischer and R. Lowenstein, *Race and the News Media*, 1967; Christopher Bagley, "Race Relations and the Press: An Empirical Analysis," *Race*, July, 1973, 59-89; K. K. Cox, "Changes in Stereotyping of Negroes and Whites in Magazine Advertisements," *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 33, 1969-1970; C. Dumas, "The Effect of Motion Pictures Portraying Black Models on the Self-concept of Black Elementary School Children," *Dissertation Abstracts International*, 1970, 31, 1609-261-; C. Roberts, "The Portrayal of Blacks on Network Television," *Journal of Broadcasting*, 1970, 33:1, 3-24.

[3]Hoyt S. Alverson, "Minority Group Autonomy and the Rejection of Dominant Group Racial Methodologies: The Zulu of South Africa," *African Studies* 1974, 33:1, 3-24.

[4]George Gerbner, "Communication and Social Environment," *The Scientific American*, September, 1972, p. 153.

[5]Robert Nwanikwo, "Communication as Symbolic Interaction: A Synthesis," *Journal of Communication*, June 1973, p. 203.

[6]D. Bushman and G. Whiting, "An Approach to Communication Theory: Towards Consensus on Rules," *The Journal of Communication*, September, 1972, p. 232.

[7] Ibid, 232-234.

[8]Ibid, p. 235.

[9] Andrew S. McFarland, *Power and Leadership in Plural Systems*, Stanford, Cal.: Stanford University Press, 1969, p. 20.

[10]Cushman and Whiting, *op. cit.*, p. 234.

[11]The paradigm, "Who says What, to Whom, through what Channel, and with what Effects?" is useful in "effects" or propaganda analysis.

[12]J. Milton Yinger, *A minority Group in American Society*, McGraw-Hill, New York, 1965, p. 31.

[13]S. J. Makielski, Jr., *Beleaguered Minorities*, San Francisco, Cal.: W. H. Freeman and Co., 1973.

[14]*Black Gold* published October, November, December, 1972; January, February, March, April, November, December, 1973. *Mountache* was a satire publication staffed and edited by some white students. It lost its funding at the same time *Black Gold* did but regained it after a challenge of the Student Senate action. However, publication did not resume, the editors saying they wanted to prove the Senate was prejudiced.

[15]*Black Gold*, October, 1972, p. 1.

[16]Ibid.

[17]*Black Gold*, December, 1973, p. 12.

[18]Ibid.

[19]*Black Gold*, December, 1972, p. 6.

[20]*Black Gold*, October, 1972, p. 3.

[21]Ibid.

[22]An editor of the paper said the black community regarded *Black Gold* as "just a student paper."

[23]It is evident that several outside sources were used but not always acknowledged.

TABLE I

%DISTRIBUTION OF ITEMS BY SUBJECT MATTER AND RACIAL, GEOGRAPHICAL, AND EVALUATIVE FOCI*

Subject		Racial Focus			Geographical Focus					Evaluation		
Institution/ideas	Total	Black	White	Neutral	Univ	RI	US	Africa	Other	Positive	Negative	Neutral
Education	16	15	1	0	9	6	1	0	0	14	3	0
Economics	24	21	1	1	0	16	7	1	0	10	10	4
Communication	7	7	0	0	3	1	3	0	0	4	0	3
Gov/Politics	20	13	7	0	0	8	6	3	3	3	15	1
Society/culture	14	11	1	1	7	4	3	0	0	6	4	4
Health	3	1	0	1	0	1	1	0	0	3	0	0
General	3	3	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	1	1
Subtotal	87	71	11	4	20	37	21	6	4	39	34	14
Persons												
Men	7	6	1	0	1	0	6	0	0	6	1	0
Women	6	6	0	0	3	1	6	0	0	6	1	0
Total	(100)	(83)	(13)	(4)	(24)	(38)	(28)	(6)	(4)	(51)	(35)	(14)

*percentages are rounded.

TABLE II

DISTRIBUTION OF CONTENT BY ITEM THEMES

Theme	No. of Items	%
Unity	10	14
Progress	20	28
Power/self reliance	8	11
Discrimination/racism	23	33
Colonialism	4	5
Other	6	9
	71	100

A MODEL FOR THE STUDY OF INTERCULTURAL COMMUNICATION IN COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES OF THE UNITED STATES

by
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[In keeping with the overall policy set for the INTERNATIONAL AND INTERCULTURAL COMMUNICATION ANNUAL, we have continued to encourage knowledgable scholars to provide specific outlines or suggestions for the improvement of our field of study. The following summary article by Howell is another step in that direction, especially in relationship to the outline provided in the first issues of the ANNUAL.

The Editor]

Professions as diverse as marketing, denistry, law and forestry, although their work is done primarily off-campus, depend upon teaching, research and service in colleges and universities. Selection and training of future members of these and most other professions are done on campus as is the continuing education that keeps practitioners up to date.

Similarly, application of intercultural communication knowledge and skills is needed mainly in the world lying beyond educational institutions. But only with a firm academic foundation in colleges and universities can these needs be met. Professional organizations can contribute a great deal to the definition and development of a new field, but to obtain needed support it must become a recognized and respected part of higher education.

Many competent and enthusiastic academics in a variety of disciplines are making significant contributions to the study of intercultural communication. What is lacking is a systematic approach that integrates this relatively new study into the curriculum. Intercultural communication courses, workshops and research projects have "just grown up." These are sponsored by scholars scattered along the range of the academic spectrum, having in common only the necessity of working across cultural boundaries. Tunnel vision rather than a comprehensive perspective is typical. We each do our own thing aggressively, avoiding a coordinated approach which alone can convince colleagues and administrators that we deserve a place in the world of higher education.

Probably the reason that no systematic arrangement of our enterprise has emerged is the multidisciplinary nature of current projects in intercultural communication. No other academic interest is as widely dispersed across the curriculum. In 1971 I compiled a *Directory of International Communication Scholars in MUCIA Universities*. In the five members of the Midwest University Consortium for International Activities, the Universities of Illinois, Indiana, Michigan State, Minnesota and Wisconsin, I found one hundred and nineteen faculty members currently engaged in research into communication across national boundaries. These scholars came from forty disciplines. Truly, coordinating this variety of academic interests poses problems that explain our failure to organize the study of intercultural communication into a coherent, comprehensible, supportable entity.

But the fact that we have not established a rationale or produced organizing principles only makes more urgent the need to take action, soon. To precipitate discussion of concrete proposals I am submitting the following Model which suggests guidelines for the development of intercultural communication study in institutions of higher education. If examination of this paradigm generates further proposals, it will have done its work.

Preamble:

To promote a shared understanding of the importance of systematic and uniform academic intercultural communication programs; to help sponsors of intercultural communication study best utilize available resources in developing undergraduate and graduate programs suited to their students and adapted to their campuses; to assist proponents of education in intercultural communication in gaining both understanding and support of their colleagues and administrators; and to develop a base of information for informing off-campus persons and organizations of the nature and usefulness of the study of intercultural communication, the following model is submitted for discussion and possible adoption by 1) the Intercultural Division of the International Communication Association, 2) the Commission on International and Intercultural Speech Communication of the Speech Communication Association, and 3) all other agencies interested and involved in task-oriented communication that crosses national and cultural boundaries.

Basic Organization in an Institution of Higher Education

1. Each college or university shall designate a Director of the Study of Intercultural Communication.
   A. The Director shall be and will remain a member of any appropriate academic department.
   B. Her/his function will be to promote the utilization of multidisciplinary resources to meet the need of individual students who would attain competence in any aspect of communication across cultures.
   C. The Director will select within colleges, schools and departments permanent faculty to serve as liaison contacts and as his Advisory Board in the coordination of institutional resources.
2. Since intercultural communication is to some degree a concern in all disciplines, in order to facilitate widespread cooperation and direct communication, the Director will report to the Academic Vice President or to an equivalent member of Central Administration.
   A. The Director will continue to teach and maintain his office in his department.
   B. The Director's authority will be to suggest, recommend, coordinate, listen, and report.

Departmental and Graduate School Procedures

1. Each academic department will decide whether to offer courses in intercultural communication, a minor or a major emphasis, at undergraduate and/or graduate levels.
   A. Each department will select courses in intercultural communication from other departments to count toward its major or minor requirements.
   B. Joint advising involving two or more departments will be encouraged for graduate students with a specialization in intercultural communication.
   C. Departments with no courses in intercultural communication may offer minor or major emphases in this area.
2. Since many diverse departments will wish to offer substantial work in intercultural communication without losing their distinctive badge of scholarship, graduate degrees will be double-titled, e.g.:
   A. A masters degree might be titled "Master of Arts Degree in Anthropology; Major Emphasis, Intercultural Communication."
   B. A doctorate might be titled "Doctor of Philosophy in Sociology, Specialization, Intercultural Communication."

Maintenance of Scholarly Standards

1. No department nor any graduate school will be influenced to in any way lower its standards of scholarship because of extended interdisciplinary participation in degree programs that involve intercultural communication.
   A. Each department will monitor and must approve any course accepted for credit in its minor or major degree program.
   B. Degrees, although double-listed, will be first, an undergraduate or a graduate degree in the central discipline as always, and secondarily, will add an emphasis or specialization in intercultural communication.
2. Many departments and schools will offer substantial work in intercultural communication, but only as it validly extends and adds substance to their discipline, as they see it.
3. Both cognitive and experiential work in intercultural communication will be found useful in varying proportion in the curricula of a higher educational institution; and, as in the past, schools and departments will be directly responsible for maintenance of scholarship within their boundaries.

The Director of the Study of Intercultural Communication

The Director is responsible for securing the coordination of all resources in his instituion of higher education and the surrounding community[1] to improve both understanding of and abilities in intercultural communication wherever necessary and appropriate. She/he should be a permanent staff member of at least the assistant professor rank in an academic department that is experienced in and knowledgeable about intercultural communication. It is important that the Director have had extensive experience in the cross-cultural applications of her/his discipline, and that she/he be dedicated to the improvement of intercultural communication competence of students whose education and subsequent careers will benefit from it.

To be successful as Director, a person must be respected by colleagues in his department and in other disciplines for both scholarly and teaching achievements. She/he must be able to cross academic boundaries comfortably and be welcomed warmly on the other side. Much needed cooperation can be brought about only through the warmth of dyadic interaction. Hence, the impact of the *person* of the Director becomes a key element in her/his selection.

The Student Who Studies Intercultural Communication

Intercultural communication research and study is normally adjunct to one or more disciplines rather than a specialization in its own right. The student of Political Science, Anthropology, Public Health, Studio Arts, etc., may well become expert in the cross-cultural interaction dimension of her/his discipline. She/he will need communication theory, cognitive knowledge of cultural values, assumptions and sets of expectations, plus experiential courses to blend affect and information. In addition, her/his department will wish to supply culture and discipline-specific training.

Students majoring in communication arts and sciences will need intercultural cognitive and experiential courses as part of their basic curriculum, since a mono-cultural world for any American communicator has long been extinct. Further intercultural work for communication specialists will tend to relate tc particular media or to forms of interpersonal interaction such as persuasion, group work, or managerial communication in varied cultures. Hence, mass communication or speech communication majors may develop emphases or specializations in quite unique and differentiated aspects of intercultural communication.

FOOTNOTES

[1] Every multinational, ecumenical or inter-ethnic organization in the community is a potential resource. The World Trade Organization and the U.S. Department of Commerce in particular produce useful and up-to-date materials.

A TWO-WEEK INTERNATIONAL WORKSHOP IN CROSS-CULTURAL COUNSELING[1]

Dr. Paul Pedersen
University of Minnesota

Program Objectives

The Fourth Summer Program in East–West Intercultural Studies was intended to provide participants from Asia, the Pacific and the United States with opportunities to study, discuss, and learn from the ideas that persons in other cultures have developed for helping one another. Counseling-defined here as the giving and receiving of help--may range from voluntary advice-giving by persons without special training, to the use of standardized tests by trained professionals. Cultural differences are defined as including differences of age, sex role, socio-economic status, and work role in addition to nationality and ethnicity.

By early in May, 1975, we had designed the program to include four areas of study: 1) the ways cultures carry out the counseling function to encourage healthy mental attitudes and generate effective coping styles; 2) the ways in which cultural values are related to nationality, ethnicity, sex role, age, life style and power status differences; 3) the ways personal problems vary from one culture to another with different solutions appropriate to each problem in various cultural systems; and 4) the ways counselors can be trained to increase their awareness of cross-cultural differences.

Planning

With the decision to organize the program from July 7–18 at the culture Learning Institute, East-West Center, an announcement was distributed throughout Asia, the Pacific and the U.S. The months of May and June were spent locating ten guest lecturers on selected topics, arranging for three doctoral credits to be offered to participants, training resource persons to assist in the program and selecting participants.

A participant selection committee was assembled to screen applications. The selection committee's decisions resulted in thirty-three acceptances, ten of whom were unable to attend. Among the attending participants, five came from Asia, six from the Pacific, six from the U.S. mainland, and five from Hawaii, with twelve men and eleven women. To insure a variety of viewpoints, the participants were selected from persons both highly trained and with very little training in counseling but all of whom were heavily involved in helping persons from other cultures. Participants included five persons with their doctorate and two persons in the final stages of getting a doctorate, eight persons teaching or counseling in secondary schools, six persons teaching or counseling at the university level, and four persons with extensive experience as counselors working in a multi-cultural population. The participants themselves represented the program's most important educational resource, with potential to teach one another from their varied and extensive background.

In the invitation to apply for admission to the program, participants were informed they would have to pay their own transportation, support during the program, and an additional $50 as part of the cost-sharing program. The Culture Learning Institute provided for a room in Hale Manoa dormitory and administrative expenses for the Program. Students requesting three academic credits were required to pay an additional $13 to the University of Hawaii.

Programs

Thirteen of the participants received three credits for their participation through the Department of Educational Psychology. Those students requesting credit were required to complete an individual project in addition to their normal participation in the program.

The individual projects include a wide range of activities that contributed significantly to the value of the program. These projects included: designing a large proposal for federal funding of a counseling program for Truk; a joint project with another permanent CLI staff member on non-verbal expression in Japan; a study of the value differences among other participants in the program; designing a guidance program to help drop-outs in the Marshall Islands; developing a multi-media program from videotapes made during the program for a series of cross-cultural counseling seminars and in-service teacher workshops in Hawaii; designing a two-day cross-cultural counseling workshop for persons working with international students in Texas; designing an orientation workshop for East-West Center grantees using materials presented in the program; designing a counseling service to help secondary school students in Palau; designing a conceptual model on cross-cultural marriage and family counseling for publication; designing a program for improving interpersonal relationships among students through the Mental Health and Guidance Center of the College of Chinese Culture; and developing an in-service staff training program for cross-cultural awareness at a Hawaii Mental Health Center.

The *content* materials of cross-cultural counseling were covered largely through participant presentations and ten one-hour lectures by local resource people in the areas of mental health or inter-cultural communication. The participant presentations concentrated on counseling special populations, such as: U.S. youth raised abroad; AFS students; school dropouts in Micronesia; school graduates in Micronesia; and Native American Indians. A number of programs were presented for re-entry counseling of foreign students, cross-cultural marriage and family counseling, preventing alcohol or drug abuse in Micronesia, autogenic training in Japanese behavior therapy, biofeedback systems and techniques, and establishing a counseling program at the University of the South Pacific. Two of the participants organized group exercise simulations in cross-cultural learning and the formation of cultural sterotypes.

Other aspects of the program concentrated on methods and strategies of the *process* of cross-cultural counseling. A variety of methods were used to increase the participant's cultural awareness. A series of simulated cross-cultural counseling sessions were role played and videotaped. In some of the sessions, participants were matched with previously trained client/anti-counselor teams from the same other culture. The objective of these sessions was to help participants in the counselor role to anticipate the resistance and articulate the problem from a client's viewpoint in cross-cultural counseling sessions. Participants were also encouraged to organize their own client/anti-counselor teams to train one another. The three-way interaction of counselor, client and anti-counselor is designed to explicated cultural aspects of the problem and resistance to counseling in an open struggle for power between the counselor and the anti-counselor for a coalition with the client. The unique element in this design is the role of the anti-counselor who is encouraged to view his or her best interest as *preventing* the counselor from coalesing with the client toward a solution of the problem, while *increasing* a client's dependence on the problem. While the counselor and anti-counselor are in direct competition, the client is forced to choose between the counselor or the anti-counselor. A counselor-client coalition against the problem or anti-counselor

becomes the vehicle of effective counseling while ineffective counseling results in a client problem coalition against the counselor. Whether the simulated interview succeeds or fails, the participants and viewers are sensitized to specific ways that cultural differences affect counseling. Participants were also encouraged to produce videotapes demonstrating different styles of counseling in their own cultures which were viewed and discussed by the assembled participants.

In an evaluation after the first week, participants were asked to comment briefly on their suggestions for changing the program. Among the participants who were critical of the program, seven felt more time should be allowed, three wanted more sessions to be held, three felt the group was too heterogeneous, two were uncomfortable with counseling, two wanted more structure in the program, one wanted more social activities and one wanted the Asians to speak out more. Responses reflect the pressures of the program's task where a culturally diversified group of "counselors" are having to learn from one another their insights about helping others in a relatively short period of time. Among the participants who made positive comments about the program thus far, six were enthusiastic about the use of videotape in training and particularly the cross-cultural coalition training model, six were enthusiastic about what they had learned through informal exchanges, three were primarily enthusiastic about the presentations, and one person was enthusiastic about the whole cross-cultural experience.

As a result of the evaluation committee's mid-term survey, a series of special-topic lectures were added to the program during the second week. These sessions were added to the program outside of other scheduled activities. The topics of the sessions were 1) skills in cross-cultural counseling as a general group sharing session; 2) cross-cultural orientation and workshop training strategies; 3) alcohol and drug abuse prevention; 4) curriculum for training counselors for degree and in-service programs; 5) relaxation therapy with biofeedback apparatus; and 6) cross-cultural marriage counseling. These extra sessions were well received with about fifty to eighty percent of the participants attending each session.

Evaluation

On the last day participants were requested to complete an evaluation of cross-cultural training approaches used in this program. Their overall responses to the training were very favorable. The training helped participants anticipate resistance in clients from other cultures (twelve yes, three maybe, four no); articulate the problem from a client's cultural viewpoint (thirteen yes, three maybe, three no); and most of them would like additional training (fourteen yes, one maybe, four no)

Participants were asked to identify new insights gained as a result of the training. The insights generally illustrated an increased understanding of counseling as a process and each participan's own specific adequacies or inadequacies in working with clients from other cultures. The importance of establishing good counseling relationship was emphasized ("The first step or cross-cultural counseling should be to accept client feeling instead of to know stories of client."). A number of participants learned new ways videotape can be used in training ("My self-perceived counseling style is significantly different from what the tapes revealed."). Participants wrote about having more confidence in their own counseling

abilities ("This training gives me firsthand information on how to counsel people from different cultures."). Some of the participants from Asia and the Pacific had been functioning as counselors without training in counseling psychology and benefited through contact with trained professionals ("I'm learning a lot from this workshop in terms of new experiences, new insights on certain topics and meeting professional people for the first time in my life."). Other highly trained counselors came to recognize the culture bias in their own training ("... recognition that minimizing traditional western techniques is, in fact, appropriate when dealing with non-Western students.").

In the final session of the program, participants were asked to list the benefits of having participated in the Fourth Summer Program. The specific benefits discussed during this session were consistent with the program objectives and purposed: 1) validation of a non-traditional counseling style; 2) increased awareness of all counseling as cross-cultural; 3) introduction to new styles and definitions of counseling; 4) awareness of videotape as a valuable teaching media; 5) increased awareness of culture and significant cultural differences; 6) appreciation of our ignorance about other cultures; 7) understanding one's own counseling style and avoiding absolutes; 8) understanding the importance of relationships in counseling; 9) awareness of one's own cultural norms as a prerequisite to counseling; 10) awareness of the cross-disciplinary nature of cross-cultural counseling; 11) appreciation of new professional relationships with colleagues from other cultures; 12) increased awareness of resources in cross-cultural counseling; 13) increased self-confidence in cross-cultural counseling; 14) awareness of clients as training resources.

Discussion

This program provides an example of an intensive short term professional development project that was successful. There are a number of ways in which the program design can be improved if it is to be repeated in the future, however. Brainstorming with the program organizers has resulted in the following specific suggestions.

The most important part of the program is adequate preparation. 1) The objectives need to be defined and operationalized in terms of specific outcomes which can be communicated clearly to applicants to prevent their coming with unrealistic expectations. 2) Special interests of participants should be solicited before they arrive so that some arrangement can be made to meet their specialized expectations. 3) A packet of readings can be assembled and distributed as the participants arrive and serve as a textbook for the program. 4) The program can be promoted earlier in professional journals to reach a larger audience.

The scheduled activities of the program might be revised to help participants know one another better and provide a more comprehensive schedule of activities. 5) More extra curricular films and activities should be coordinated and available during evening hours. 6) Participant presentations should be scheduled in the first two days of the program to help them know one another better earlier in the program. 7) A variety of group process exercises might have helped pull the group together as a unit earlier in the program. 8) In the balance of experiential/cognitive approaches, more emphasis could have been put on theories or conceptual framework through required readings or individual projects to be completed before the program was over or perhaps even an examination at the end of the program. 9) A longer training period, for three weeks instead of two weeks, with more structured sessions particularly at the beginning would have resulted in stronger learning outcomes and less time pressure.

The program relied heavily on videotape and the microcounseling approach with special attention to the cross-cultural coalition training design. While the design has demonstrated in this program and elsewhere that it offers many advantages over alternative training approaches, a number of midifications would make the videotaping even more valuable. 10) A variety of training models would have given participants more of a choice in developing their own training approaches. 11) More extensive training is needed for the anti-counselors to function also as pro-counselors, co-counselors, co-clients, or in alternative modes as appropriate to individual counseling sessions. 12) The tapes should provide models of good cross-cultural counseling, either on videotapes or in role playing, as well as models of errors and mistakes. 13) We might have taken the same basic problem and looked at how it might be handled differently in different cultures for comparison. 14) The participants could have been given more time to make their own tapes, demonstrating their own counseling styles in different situations.

Other aspects of the program might improve the efficiency of training counselors also. 15) Faculty advisers should be assigned on a one-to-one basis for each student requesting academic credit for participation in the program. 16) Guest lecturers should be strongly encouraged to spend the day with the group and not just come in for an hour to give a lecture. 17) The participant presentations might have been organized into panels with related or overlapping topics to provide a pattern of continuity.

All indications are that the evaluations will be extremely positive, encouraging the possibility of such a program to be repeated again in the future. The real impact of this program can be described in various ways, as through this paper, but still not measured in terms of changed lives of ideas from the program as they, in turn, generated new programs and ideas in cross-cultural mental health.

FOOTNOTES

[1]The Fourth Summer Program in East-West Intercultural Studies with the theme "Cross Cultural Counseling" was held from July 7–18, 1975 at the Culture Learning Institute, East-West Center, Honolulu, Hawaii with Paul Pedersen as Coordinator assisted by Fatty Hoiwill and Gregory Trifonovitch as Administrator assisted by Kazzie Mad.

CRITICAL REVIEW OF RECENT LITERATURE

William J. Starosta

One year ago, when this publication began, it was noted in this forum that international and intercultural communication bring together a wide spectrum of researchers, practitioners and theoreticians. A second observation was made that, by one definition or another of these terms, a broad spectrum of topics may be tapped. These overviews remain valid even today. As a result, any attempt to authoritatively review all relevant print and non-print resources which arise in any given year is, at best, pretentious, and, at worst, so diffuse as to offer no sense of perspective or continuity whatever.

The reviews which follow are designed to treat a limited set of topical areas, with some attempt being made to leave the impression of coherence. One way to leave this impression is to use the resources of only one reviewer within a topical section, with a natural resultant bias. The bias which is introduced by the two reviewers represented herein is toward interpersonal communication, purposeful in nature, addressed by a source to a receiver in the hope of achieving a desired range of effects. Whereas in rhetoric that range of effects is manipulative and persuasive, in the case of intercultural communication the desired effect usually is phrased in mutual terms: training, understanding, common meanings, culture learning, international education, cultural exchange, cooperative interaction, etc. That such a bias excludes for the moment consideration of international media, propaganda, diplomatic communication or, at the opposite end, intrapersonal communication, meditation and intuitive insight, should be viewed as an editorial expedient.

The present reviewers accept Stewart's position that, in cases of international and intercultural communication, a sense of difference is an overriding concern, and that such difference defines the transaction and shapes its form and content. The intent of the review is to focus on such defining differences in recent literature so as to draw out significant comparisions and contrasts at the highest level of theory which will allow application and further productive exploration.

The few responses to the initial reviews of the previous year have supported the utility of this general format, while suggesting that certain topics might have been chosen in place of those selected and treated in the first *Annual*. The simplest way of representing topics other than those chosen is for readers with areas of expertise other than our own to submit topically-arranged reviews, so as to represent those viewpoints of most interest to our readership.

One of the topics covered in the initial volume is returned to again, i.e., Developmental Communication. A second, Culture Learning and International Education, is new to this issue. The section on Regional Dialects and Sociolinguistics, also new, was written by Dr. Barbara Montilla.

I. DEVELOPMENTAL COMMUNICATION

COMMUNICATION STRATEGIES FOR FAMILY PLANNING. By Everett M. Rogers. New York. Free Press, 1973. pp. 451.

Periodically, rhetoric is rediscovered. The major writings of Everett M. Rogers have carried him from diffusion studies in rural societies, i.e., an "island of communication studies" in

agricultural sociology, through the restyled "communication of innovations" in 1971, and on to the formulation or relation of "communication strategies for family planning" in 1973. The 1971 dismissal of speech as an academic area which infrequently traces the spread of new words and jargon into old dialects now evolves (unconsciously?) squarely into the study of rhetorical communication: "Here the communication task is to provide motivation, not just to inform potential and receptive client audiences." Communication, by Rogers' present definition, becomes "the process by which an idea is transferred from a source to a receiver with the intent to change his behavior," leading to a contemporary search for all available means of persuasion relevant to birth control and family planning. His strategies involve the manipulation of "a long-time and relatively lasting drive or need."

While Rogers' earlier COMMUNICATION OF INNOVATIONS: A CROSS–CULTURAL APPROACH held a moderate measure of interest for perceptive rhetoricians, COMMUNICATION STRATEGIES FOR FAMILY PLANNING is a manual of rhetoric as fully as was Aristotle's *Rhetoric* or Kenneth Burke's *A Rhetoric of Motives*. Rogers' rhetoric is descriptive, it is somewhat topic-bound, it resorts to more and to less coercive modes of persuasion and it is designed for maximum application to bring policy-related results in the area of family planning. To the degree that the study of communication becomes centered on the achievement of "results" or "ends," it is one with the study of rhetorical communication.

At one point, argues Rogers, governments taking an interest in the creation of family planning policy did so inconspicuously, and without conscious attention to the marketing of their ideas. Family planning units were incorporated into existing health care ministries, headed by doctors, and these services were considered simply as another item of preventive health care. The communication model implicit in such information efforts was the same as that propagated by Rogers for agriculture: (1) create an awareness of an idea by means of a mass/cosmopolite information source; (2) allow the idea to diffuse to adjacent social groups as a natural social process; and (3) ultimately expect interpersonal communication to achieve the nearly complete adoption of the new idea. This model relied semi-consciously on the belief in a "critical mass" or "take-off point" which, when generated, would allow for the eventual self-perpetuation of the change. The audience was viewed as uniform, perhaps a bit richer or poorer, more or less cosmopolite, more or less traditional in norms, etc., but fundamentally of a single rhetorical substance. This view itself provides the theoretical underpinnings for what Rogers labels the "Clinic Era." If one builds a clinic and stocks it with better contraceptives, the public will beat a path to the door in order of their awareness, the laggards simply taking longer than the innovators to find the door. The consideration of societal groups as nearly distinct cultures did not enter into this model.

But the Clinic Era, while offering effective birth preventive products, offered no tangible evidence of outreach into the rural areas. Admittedly, as with Iran's Isfahan media campaign, those 10% of the population already predisposed to adopt contraception were happy to replace the folk remedy with the condom, but any impact of the clinic on the remaining 90% of the population was scarcely in evidence. Hence Rogers' reconceptualization of the problem. The "S-shaped adoption curve" stopped at a low "plateau." Instead of the smooth progressive flow from Knowledge through Attitude to Practice (KAP), the public health ministry found itself unable to bridge the "KAP-gap." Those uncommitted to contraception could be made aware of clinics, but they were not disposed to use them. The topic of contraceptive practice was taboo, ego-involving, likely to be discussed only in dyads, at the

center of Rokeach's formuation of levels of beliefs, negatively self-reinforcing and a subject of major risk to the user. When a physician asks a villager to be treated for worms, the result, a roundworm in a jar, can be publically displayed. The result of contraception is in a real sense invisible: only the policymaker notes the *absence* of birth statistics.

The Persuasion function of Rogers' earlier model was severed from its Awareness roots. The mass media plainly were unable to motivate, even if their repetition of contraception information could provide a more favorable context for the efforts of an individual persuader. A new Field Era therefore arose, characterized by the active interpersonal conveyance of ideas to the non-adopting public by high-credibility sources of similar social status. Field workers, according to Rogers, were to aim for homophily with their audience, a term known to rhetoricians better as "identification." Rogers, like Kenneth Burke, claimed persuasion to be the reward for those who were like their audience in all important respects (or, claimed Burke, who could appear to be so). Perhaps not by coincidence, Burke and Rogers both make use of the word "strategy" for their unit of conscious rhetorical appeal.

Rogers faults himself ideologically for a bias toward the complete and total acceptance of the new idea. In the tradition of Goulet and Chodak he comes to sympathize with Third World intellectuals who accusé colonial powers of creating the developmental dilemma, and who see foreign-instigated manipulation as a cure for a symptom but not the underlying ailment. However, before the treatment is over, Rogers advocates incentives financed from abroad, coercion, the threat of termination of social benefits and the calculated application of the findings of behavioral science research to delimit subaudiences in order to entice them into complete compliance with policy. These approaches mark the advent of a "Contemporary Era." Some antinatal appeals would be "artistic" in Aristotle's parlance, i.e., based upon persuasion concerning the merits of the new practice, while other efforts would be beyond artistic persuasion to include cash payments, the temporary creation of a festive spirit to sanction a non-birth (sterilization) decision with its life-time implications, and other "beyond family planning" efforts which might prove to have utility. Results are of paramount concern, and behaviorial science experimentation becomes the tool to achieve these results most efficiently. "Quasi-experiments" will not suffice. Involved must be actual manipulation, random assignment into groups and the presence of control groups. Numbers of vasectomies and abortions are dependent variables to be paired with variation in independent variables as "near-peer" approaches, altered payment sizes and "convenience" of services. Rogers hails, with Campbell, the "experimenting society" which will make "hardheaded and multidimensional evaluations of the [policy] outcomes." Such evaluations will presumably offer efficient results free from the consideration of values or ends-means dilemmas.

Rogers strongly advocates a rhetoric based upon audience characteristics (demand over supply). As hard as this process may be, he seeks the socio-cultural adaptation of all agency messages for particular subaudiences. The notion of the marginality of the persuader to the cultural milieu is a key feature of the treatment, and deserves more elaboration than the present book can offer. The change agent who, in an earlier version of Rogers' work stood with "one foot in each of two worlds," is now instructed to regain his balance by trying not to stand with his agency or with expertise, although a modicum of expertise may be acceptable. The advocacy of a near-peer approach either heralds the advent of a grass-roots system of campaign-style persuasion, or else it erects a wall of almost-Burkeian mystery around all governmental efforts: "We are alike except that I have a vasectomy scar – won't you join me?"

If a reader will "adopt" the behavioral science point of view of the book, and he should be aware that the book seeks the diffusion of this perspective, then the book fulfills a major need. It illustrates one means of synthesizing 2700 reports into a series of a few key generalizations which are reported with clarity for a potential practitioner to employ. This is an instance of the "mediation" function sought by Rogers to alleviate the problem of "information overload."

Rogers' reference to fear appeal, network redundancy, one- or two-sided messages, message semantics and credibility of communicators, along with other topics from the Yale series, Campbell or Berelson, may be of cross-cultural significance. A strength of Rogers' work is that he is open to fresh insight and correction: his competence vs. safety dichotomy, which calls to mind the earlier mass/interpersonal media, information/support, or cosmopolite/localite categories of previous editions of his work, remains open to correction by any new and convincing factor analysis. The work, in consequence, remains unfinished as a part of its very methodological definition. This is a major consideration in adopting the approach as a system of rhetoric.

The chapter on incentives, probably the most useful in the entire work, illustrates the problem of seeking application for the book. Incentives can be monetary or non-monetary, immediate or delayed, to the audience or to the persuader or both, positive or punitive, or of many descriptions. (In fact, these factors may not hold constant for every culture). But little hard, i.e., experimental, evidence exists to permit the making of an informed choice. The work raises questions and expectations, and presents the persistent question: What can we *know* about family planning communication? A humanist might begin to answer this question by means of case studies or introspection. The empiricist works from the base of randomly selected individuals. But the practitioner, in a variety of cases cited, tried incentives, convenience theory, campaign approaches and near-peers before being in touch with humanist *or* behavioralist. Rogers', book is a testament to Krishnakumar, Datta Pai or Gopalaswamy, as Rogers' empirically-based strategies began as no more than the inspiration of a given policymaker. The book creates little itself that can be argued as innovative. It systemizes, instead, the writings and speculations of 2700 others.

Systemization, as Rogers argues, *is* in fact crucial. It is of major importance to transfer an effective tool cross-culturally to another nation in quest of an efficient means to use scarce resources. Also, it is important to critique the assumptions behind the efforts of WHO, IPPF and like groups. These three functions are the primary value of the text, and each is enhanced by the clear, if repetitious, style of presentation. The chapters may be read singly, if desired, without handicapping the reader, since definitions, points of view and other key notions are explained as often as they arise.

The arguments revolving "relational analysis" are of particular importance for the rhetorical critic as well as for the transactionist, since no longer can rhetoric be supposed to reside chiefly in the message or speaker, but within a relationship defined by both parties. Likewise, the notion of "inauthentic professionalism" is meaningful for sojourners who have been asking the eternal question of the Eternal City: whether to do as do the Romans. A tentative answer, from a field worker analogy, would be not to conspicuously leave one's own expected image when traveling into another's society.

The striking rhetorical stance of the present work calls to mind a further parallel to the

writings of Burke. Just as Burke's *Symbolic of Motives, Grammar of Motives* and *Rhetoric of Motives* were expected to offer increasingly important rhetorical insights, so too could a student of Rogers read *Diffusion of Innovations, Communication of Innovations* and the present work, in order, for the maximum total effect. The increasingly rhetorical perspective is most obvious. To other students of rhetoric the attributes of innovations will read as *topoi*, change agents will seem to be rhetoricians, and the notion of effect will need no further elaboration except to translate the terms "practice" and "adoption" into rhetorical equivalents. The *scene* is a developing nation, the *purpose* is social transformation and the rhetorical *act* hopes some day to change the world.

A further term from Burke's is "attitude," which may prove to be the most revealing term for the analysis of this work. One who is a devotee of the "experimenting society" works with generalities and norms at the ultimate expense of exceptions to those norms. His "attitude" calls for those who are different to adjust to general expectations. As Stewart, Hoopes, Prosser, Smith and numerous others caution, however, differences must be viewed ultimately as a resource, and *mutuality* must be a goal. One's attitude should reflect a consistent concern for the essential humanity of one's interactants from another culture.

THE MEDIA AND FAMILY PLANNING. Ed. by J. Richard Udry, Cambridge: Ballenger Pub. Co., 1974: pp. 233.

It is ironic that, with the publication of Roger's *Communication of Innovations*, the study of innovation became "cross-cultural" while, in *Communication Strategies for Family Planning*, cases presented do not stem at *all* from American experience. To that extent, at least, Rogers' more recent work presents a lesser degree of comparison than did the former. Fortunately *The Media and Family Planning*, with a forward by Rogers, completes the comparison at the same moment as it bespeaks a lack of utility in the inclusion of American data: In America the attitudes toward contraception are largely favorable, knowledge of contraception is relatively complete and the mass media reach a large percentage of the population...New messages regarding family planning are largely redundant. All that a message may gain is some small increase in efficiency in the use of birth control techniques. The text, in short, testifies to the saturation of the American market, the media overload, and to the pointlessness of investing vast sums of dollars in a project which could not possibly yield a commensurate return.

The Udry study has a number of points to be considered: (1) its status as a field experiment; (2) its advertising perspective; (3) comments concerning length of campaign, cost efficiency, media impact, etc.; (4) the concern for action over attitude change; and (5) a consideration of the ethics of societal manipulation by means of the field experiment.

With exceptional clarity (and the promise of supplementary data from the Carolina Population Center) the primary researcher details how the project came into being, how it was executed and how (or whether) it achieved particular anticipated results. A review of related literature by Naomi M. Morris shows quite convincingly the flaws or inapplicability of numerous field experiments or quasi-experiments in Iran, Scotland and Taiwan, and the stage is set for the reader to view the thoroughness of the present study as nearly unique in family planning literature.

By random assignment into groups, cities in America of similar demographic characteristics

were selected for this study. Several city choices displeased the funding agency (which thought Portland less "typical" than Columbus) and substitutions were made by non-random choice. The ultimate absence of quantifiable results in Columbus contributes to the impression that this was not a true experiment: Columbus was selected because it had a "good" program in action, and to that extent could probably show fewer increases in adoption as a result of the media treatment. Other shortcomings of the study (qua experiment) are listed openly, and with no attempt to disguise them by the authors.

The selected cities were grouped by North and South, by large and small metropolitan area (again at the insistence of the funding agency) and data were gathered on control cities in each region of the country. The treatment came in the form of a massive media campaign stressing the idea of "unwanted children" and the theme "love wisely." When this theme was found objectionable by both the agency and local media outlets, a new treatment was hammered out in compromise which had both hard- and soft-sell items, as well as both negative and positive approaches. Items were aired as conditions allowed, which meant that the treatment was not administered with any degree of uniformity except in total exposure units. A number of variables were to be measured by various tests, but spotty reporting of certain results or the uncooperativeness of shopping center testing points for Milwaukee and Altoona, as examples, left gaps in the data.

Considered as a field experiment, a primary methodological means of information acquisition about unknown cultures, the authors are more forthright in their view than was Rogers: "Undertaking a field experiment automatically assumes an arrogance on the part of the investigator which necessarily includes the assumption that whatever unanticipated problems come up *will* be solved. Some we didn't solve." Funds and personnel were sufficient to check all problems as they were encountered, but problems nevertheless remained the rule and not the exception. Whereas Rogers quotes John Marshall that family planning is "a dirty matter," and "unclean issue" or, in his own terms, a "taboo topic," can it be possible that Rogers' and Udry's methodological means, the field experiment, will clash sharply with their end, the gathering of accurate data concerning family planning communication? Could not the "topic interactions" that Rogers postulated in earlier writings come back to haunt all researchers in this sensitive topical area?

A second key feature of the present work is that it relies on reach-and-frequency advertising techniques to promote family planning. Hypothetically, as Rogers claimed, this ought to de-tabooize a sensitive topic. It is likely that discussion of family planning *did* increase as a result of Udry's treatment, as measured in shopping center conversations, etc., a finding which supports Rogers' postulate were it not that: (1) attitudes weren't measured but only actions; and (2) due to heavy market saturation, "changes in fertility as a result of media treatments are as likely as increases in the use of salt."

A primary problem with reach-and-frequency, as acknowledged by Udry, is that of the difficulty of pre-testing the ad package which is chosen. Agencies such as J. Walter Thompson are available to contribute a vast amount of practical insight into advertising attempts, but inability to pretest the advertising package led to a number of negative responses: the children who were of early school age began to wonder if *they* had been unwanted ("Did you scream when the stork brought me?") or the stork as a bringer of babies was taken literally by many children, etc. The in-term realization by parents that the baby they were about to bear was an unwanted child was another probable negative effect of

the campaign which the designers had not anticipated. If this effect was at all permanent, unknown damage could have resulted to the family. The study shows beyond a doubt that advertising deserves to be considered as a means to encourage family planning, but in this instance the results were equivocal.

One of the findings of the study which has possible theoretic significance is that advertising campaigns ought probably to be low key and even intermittent as opposed to long-range and saturational. Most of the measured effects could be correlated to the first two-month period of the campaign, and the cost-benefit ratio soared in the direction of wastefulness thereafter. To what extent this undercuts a strategy of "de-tabooizing" a topic in developing nations, if at all, is unclear. Maybe these are "saturation" and "preliminary positive attitude" effects, or else the reverse could be true; maybe two months of intensive information is a mental limit of tolerance for *any* topic. An administrator ought to know more about this trade-off. Almost as a footnote to the study the notion was raised about sagging adoption rates following the campaign. Though Rogers did not discuss this possibility, adopters during the campaign may have been "borrowed from the future" out of those already disposed to adopt the new idea. That such speculation has surrounded other studies (Isfahan, etc.) adds some credence to this notion. This would serve to elaborate on Rogers' belief in a "lack of quality" of adopters" in some campaigns, in that the highest quality adopter is a person previously disinclined to contracept.

A cultural difference between Udry's study and an attempt at future replication abroad comes in the area of attitude sampling. Udry assumed that the typical American subject knew of contraception, held a positive attitude toward it, and merely had to be reminded to use contraceptives more consistently. This contrasts with Rogers' depiction of a "KAP-gap" (Knowledge-Attitude-Practice) for this particular locale, a difference of far-reaching significance. If the Udry study would have gathered attitudinal data, since theory does not consistently distinguish between information and attitude, it would have related more easily to foreign studies where attitudinal data were gathered. Any change in attitude could conceivably lead to a gradual change in practice and to a measurable change in birth rates. A parent might have the present child, but not another, due to a change in perception and a new awareness concerning the magnitude of the population problem at home and elsewhere. Only effect, and immediate effect to be more precise, was measured. Attitude change or gradual change in practice went undetected by this study.

The final point for consideration concerns the ethics of societal manipulation by means of the experiment. The phrasing of hypotheses and random assignment into experimental and control groups probably stands to harm no one. But the manipulation of unsuspecting subjects by means of a treatment – media bombardment, importuning by papers, radio, T.V., advertising outlets, etc. – takes place on actual human beings. To what extent are human frustrations, contraceptive attitudes, or family solidarity, as examples, fair targets for manipulation in the name of scientific endeavor which, as in this case with ample funds and staff, still ended up falling short of the rigorous demands of "the experimenting society?" The primary researcher was honest enough to ask this question for a particular study, though not in general: "Who gave [the agency] the right to impose on them a treatment that they considered noxious?" Because the most thorough assessment of results tends to disclose the least quantifiable effect, the question receives a tongue-in-cheek answer: "Administrators who wish to show *program effects* are urged to put very little money into evaluation, limit themselves to analysis of data on service delivery, and use no control groups." I cling to the

belief that a middle ground – a sophistication of the "quasi-experiment" by stratified sampling and after-the-fact comparison of like groups accidentally exposed to different circumstances – is the most socially responsible compromise between experiment and guesswork.

This account is commendable for its honesty and clarity.

II. INTERNATIONAL EDUCATION AND CULTURE LEARNING

THE ROLE OF COMMUNICATION IN INTERNATIONAL TRAINING AND DEVELOPMENT: OVERCOMING BARRIERS TO UNDERSTANDING THE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES. By Ernst M. Sinauer. New York: Praeger, 1967.

THERE *IS* A DIFFERENCE: 12 INTERCULTURAL PERSPECTIVES. By John F. Fieg and John G. Blair. Wash., D.C.: Meridian House, 1975.

When intercultural communication is used as a generic term it is common to gloss over a number of distinctions of importance. The interchange of the terms intercultural, interracial, counter-cultural, transracial, inter-ethnic, and cross-cultural communication(s), with or without further qualifiers, serves to thwart systematic enquiry in these areas. Two other terms which are sometimes used interchangeably are "International Education" and "Culture Learning." International education refers to learning *from* another culture. Its content is technical materials and its subject matter varies with the availability of offerings of the host institution. Often, international education occurs in a formalized setting or classroom, with specified instructors, measurable goals, controlled duration and defined structure. By contrast, "culture learning" is the learning *of* cultures. It has at least two dimensions: (1) it may consist of the acquisition of skills in a second language or dialect, supplemented or replaced by the comprehension of meanings assigned to symbols and actions of that culture; or (2) it may entail the learning of a generalized process by which to rapidly acquire the above skills. Culture becomes the subject matter, and learning is not confined to technical skills so much as its extends to values and affective meanings. Learning ranges from the structured to the nearly-random. It is more or less subject to formal instruction, and the ultimate goal is to achieve ease of social interaction with the representative member of the second culture. While international education is imparted by an agency and a curriculum, culture learning is fostered more often by role playing, simulation, cultural exchange, tourism and submersion in a new cultural milieu.

Two publications have been selected for comparison which help to distinguish between learning *from* another culture and the learning *of* it. It may be artificial to totally sever the two, as medical school exchanges between America and Thailand demonstrate. American professors in Thailand failed to impart technical skills without first achieving an expected form of class participation. But it is of major theoretic importance to relate the terms as to how or when to engage in each, in what proportion, and between which cultures.

The Sinauer book details in some depth the scope of international educational exchange under the auspices of universities, the military and agencies of the government. Sinauer considers his approach to be controversial and of some theoretic importance, but my own reading convinces me that many of the ideas covered deserve more abstract statement. The book is addressed to the "total communication problem" of a sojourner in a strange

environment, and its policy suggestions are offered to each such a transition. A primary culture-learning postulate is the basis of the text: *other-culture contract is intrinsically desirable*, and at moments Sinauer treats culture learning as somewhat synonymous with international education.

The treatment by Sinauer identifies several variables in international education: first, second or third languages capability of the trainee; sexual homogeneity of the classes; age of participant; suggestion of political overtones to training; whether instruction is in the host, the native or a third nation; whether instruction is by means of simultaneous translation or by English (or French, Spanish, etc.) as a second language; the national culture of the participant; the level of motivation; the length of training; the supplementation of training by culture learning; the formality of training; whether the training has a practical aspect; to what degree education can be programmed; the degree of cultural prefamiliarity of the trainees with the host nation; and whether visual education is especially useful for Third World trainees.

Implicitly or explicitly, the author defines a number of supposed relationships between these variables: language familiarity facilitates international education; instruction in a second language is more effective than instruction via interpreters; female trainees respond best to sexually homogeneous grouping; motivation to learn is founded on ease of communication; formal training should precede informal culture learning; policy considerations should not cast a shadow on training objectives; training in the nation's language and/or country is relatively most effective; universities and institutions ought (ideally) to adapt to foreigners more than the reverse; teaching presupposes cultural commonality; and visuals deserve an elevated position in training sojourners.

Theoretic questions often go unanswered: Can technical content be divorced from cultural content? Must language training precede effective technical training or the reverse? Are national cultures able to be defined so as to distinguish between motivated nations and non-motivated ones? Does culture learning yield preparedness to learn even in cases where the training lacks relevance to one's assumed needs? Such questions as sequencing, stress and technical and cultural content remain with the reader of the book, due to an unconvincing attempt by Sinauer to draw all of the required analytical distinctions.

The book is suitable for use by agencies in search of a training perspective, for the classroom which wants a suitably clear account of the requirements for international education and for policy makers who wish to learn from the direct experience of the author. The reader should try to separate for himself or herself the difference between culture as setting and culture as content for training.

A final comment on this work is that theory-building was second to application for the author. In the May 1971 *Nafsa Newsletter*, Sinauer plainly states that abstract or ideal goods may have to be adjusted in light of the possible. Adjustment of a department for the needs of foreign students is good, but relectance so to adjust is real. Making studies more relevant is again viewed as important, while implementation is seriously lacking. For Sinauer international education, like politics, is the art of the possible, at the expense of the ideal.

While cultural training which will be instrumental to technical training is a concern for Sinauer and the International Training Institute, the Washington International Center (WIC)

pursues more abstract goals, with culture learning clearly an end in itself: "to be aware of, to identify and to accept the differences in thought patterns, life styles, and goals of peoples from around the world. . . ." Such experience with culture learning underscores the approach of *There* Is *a Difference.*

The book has four implicit premises: (1) Similarities among the inhabitants of a given nation-state run deeply enough to constitute a common culture. Idiosyncratic differences or pan-national similarities exist, but they are seldom so overriding as to deny the presence of a single active cultural heritage; (2) Experiential observations collected from other-culture individuals will define the American culture out of a sense of contrast with one's own cultural heritage; (3) These experiences may be content analyzed, after a fashion, to draw out a number of themes which best define the American culture; and (4) These themes have some utility for culture learners, especially for a sojourner who, in the space of a single week, wishes an intensive introduction to American ways.

The above points define a method, or "tool," for culture learning. The primary opportunity to *evaluate* the WIC program comes in a final day "reflections" program which might better attempt to solicit reactions to the various exercises carried out by WIC than merely to invite discussion. A professional evaluation report by Mary Kenny Badami concerning WIC calls for an expansion and repetition of this session, but at present the actual impact of the teachings of the book remains speculative.

Are there similarities among the people of a common national heritage which transcend differences? Writers dealing with the Third World see a panorama of "pluralisms," "tribes" and "sub-cultures" which, for the optimistic, represent a magnificent resource or, for the pessimistic, constitute an impossible barrier to development. When the authors speak of Nigerians, do they perhaps mean "Ibo"? Or the "Kenyan" they greet may most generally be upper-class Kikuyu. The argument is stronger for the existence of a clear-cut American homogeneity than it is for a developing nation's commonality. The typical sojourner from India is upper-middle class, has been educated in English as a second language (often in a Christian convent school), comes from New Delhi, Bombay or Calcutta, is tolerant towards Hindi as a national language and has many years of technical education. Can he or she be taken as representative of 800 Indian dialect groups? And can he or she be expected to contrast too considerably with city-dwelling Americans? With the granting of independence to many nations since the late 1940's, national boundaries were often arbitrarily assigned. Can three decades be expected to inculcate a homogeneous sense of "culture"?

That experiential, man-on-the-street contacts of sojourners with Americans could alert the foreigner to American-ness seems to me more likely. The dozen summarized characteristics of Americans reported by the authors, as well as Edward Stewart's comments on American cultural traits, convinces me that a definable pan-US culture exists, ethnic differences notwithstanding. That no *one* foreign national could accurately define the American culture seems to be a message reinforced by Fieg and Blair. An American is a "man of ice" to a Latin but "hot-hearted" to a Thai, yet neither could alone define an American to the satisfaction of the culture teacher. *There* Is *a Difference* does do much to provide a perspective on Americans, if not for the above reasons on the twelve other cultures. Yet, by drawing in examples of the nationals of one country critiquing the comments of nationals from another country, a slightly fuller picture emerges of every culture considered.

The summary of the most common themes which characterize Americans seems to me valuable in the abstract. However, from asking a number of sojourners who are familiar with this text whether this book has utility, most cannot define exactly what use these perspectives hold for travelers. An isolated response from one respondent is that a sojourner may possibly learn to be tolerant of American traits simply because they are "American." This squares with the authors' intentions: "to show that it is unrealistic and injurious to satisfactory communication to assume that all people share the same basic assumptions, values and attitudes." Incomplete data prevent generalization as to how typical this response might be.

Can these themes contribute to culture learning? In the absence of quantification, it is not possible to answer such a question with certainty. The examples have continuity, clarity, insight concerning the American culture and useful summaries of the most common traits raised by the sojourners. But, at present, no effective means exists to compare the results of exposure to such written materials to lecture, slides, role playing or to any other method of imparting culture-specific materials. Whether this text makes any difference; for foreigners or Americans; whether any effect is lasting; whether it has transfer value for other cultures; whether it enables Americans to reliably learn of any Third World cultures; or whether the text has no practical utility must be left to speculation at this point.

The text is readable and most interesting. Its clarity is only one of its excellent features.

CULTURE CAPSULES. By J. Dale Miller, *et al.* Salt Lake City Utah: Culture Contrasts Co., various dates.

A second attempt at using written materials for culture learning appears in a series originated by J. Dale Miller along with a separate co-author for each culture discussed. A single culture is considered by each text and the reader is offered a series of topics for culture comparison. The *USA-Mexico* capsule, co-authored by Russell H. Bishop, contrasts common traits, family, transportation and miscellany between Mexico and America. The *USA-France* capsule (with Maurice Loiseau) more naturally includes food and drink, transportation, institutions and other more specific topical comparisons.

Each topic is broken into its many constituent aspects. These features are treated in parallel paragraphs which detail how a festival or an item of food differs between the USA and the second culture. Some contrasts are at the level of description, while others branch off into (1) meaning for the members of that culture; (2) value judgments; or (3) further cultural elaboration than a direct contrast method permits. Each comparison is followed by exercises which would help a reader, probably late in high school or in college with at least a trace of language familiarity, to further reflect on his newly-gained insight. Many of the capsules would make an excellent supplement for language training courses, in order to supply affective reasons for learning a language. Among Americans, such reasons are often absent.

Culture capsules are created with three goals in mind: (1) to "review and intensify what a person already knows about his own culture"; (2) to offer "a means of grasping cultural information through comparison"; and (3) to leave "a residual, empathetic *feel*" for another culture. The capsules that I have seen (French, Mexican, Navajo) do, in fact, advance these goals. The attempt at achieving empathy is of special importance, and is brought about by the presentation of affective information and by detailing what some of the practices mean

to their proponents. Only such a sense of internally attributed meaning can begin to foster empathy.

THE PEACE CORPS READER. By Office of Public Affairs of the Peace Corps. Wash., D.C., 1969.

When an institution or agency of any government permits the publication of a written tract or collection, the suspicion follows that the piece is designed for suasive, propagandistic purposes. Even a disclaimer that "the pieces were chosen for editorial and artistic and sometimes simply informational merit" does not go far toward allaying the suspicions aroused. Because many writings of a more "scholarly" sort abound relevant to international and intercultural communication, *The Peace Corps Reader* seemed an unlikely item for class use or review.

Only the reader who is acquainted with well-selected anthologies of short stories could appreciate the affective impact of the present collection. Students in my Third World Communication course individually chose the *Reader* from among some fifty possible items, and essay questions on examinations demonstrated the degree to which they were able to empathize with this collection of readings in and about Peace Corps-style living. When four actual Peace Corps volunteers who had served together in Nepal were brought to the class for one hour, student questions concerning communication problems were limitless.

That the collection is provocative for the undergraduate student is undeniable, even if the Peace Corps no longer focuses its efforts on the recruitment of B.A. generalists. If the collection has a propaganda function, it probably is to exert pressure for the selection of Volunteers by their ability to relate, as fellow human beings, to those of other cultures. This, in turn, is a fundamental, perhaps *the* fundamental, goal of culture learning.

III. Regional Dialects and Sociolinguistics: A Selected Bibliography

The term, "dialect," generally invites a variety of emotional responses. To some, a dialect is an aberration of a language to be used around the home environment, but never in formal speaking situations. A dialect may be thought of as a feature in an adult's language that is indicative of certain deficiencies in educational training. To others, a dialect may be a type of language used to demonstrate belongingness among members of a particular group, and exclusion of those not in that group. It is also possible that a dialect is none of these. As defined by Roger Shuy (1967: 4) "A dialect, then, is a variety of language. It differs from other varieties in certain features of pronunciation, vocabulary, and grammar. It may reveal something about the social or regional background of its speakers, and it will be generally understood by speakers of other dialects of the same language." According to Shuy, dialectology involves the study of regional and social aspects of language. The emphasis of Shuy's work, however, rests on regional variations, while social aspects are given limited treatment. Several works on dialects and sociolinguistics will be reviewed in this essay. Dialect will refer to the distinctions in pronunciation, vocabularly, and grammar as discussed by Shuy. Sociolinguistics will refer to the relationship of these features to the ethnic background, environment, and social status of the persons or groups who use a dialect, as well as to the perceptions of these characteristics by others. This discussion is not exhaustive, but is intended to be generative in providing information and references for further reading in these two areas. Accordingly, this essay will consist of two parts. The first

part will be a discussion of certain research studies basic to an understanding of dialect and sociolinguistics research. The second part will consist of a discussion of resource materials that teachers in multicultural settings may wish to examine, as well as books and articles useful to students and teachers who are interested in learning about dialects and sociolinguistics.

Before a critical examination of specific work relating to dialects and sociolinguistics can be undertaken, two general observations should be made. First, a significant amount of research has focused on language differences between blacks and whites. Not surprisingly, the civil rights movement of the past two decades and questions relating to black identity and "standard" English have spawned particular interest in black dialects. Secondly, the majority of dialect and sociolinguistic research has relied on urban, rather than rural populations.

In the introduction to their text, *A Various Language* (1972), Williamson and Burke suggest that a "new era" of linguistic study was begun in 1930, when the project, *The Linguistic Atlas of the United States and Canada*, was undertaken under the directorship of Hans Kurath. Though the authors may have been somewhat generous in their assertion, the work completed under the project has provided a wealth of information on dialects. In completing their research tasks for this project, fieldworkers were particularly interested in identifying peculiarities of speech patterns, articulation of sounds, and choice of words as they were found in different geographical regions within the United States. Kurath's *Linguistic Atlas of New England* (1939), for instance, contained over six hundred maps demonstrating the existence of particular language features within certain geographical areas. Kurath (1939; 1949) divided the Eastern United States into three areas , Northern, Midland and Southern, and identified differences in both pronunciation of words and word choice. Additional research following this pattern was completed in other regions throughout the United States. Notable examples include Kurath's *A Word Geography of the Eastern United States* (1949), L. Turner's study, *Africanisms in the Gullah Dialect* (1949), and A.H. Marckwardt's *American English* (1958). Later studies in this research vein include Kurath and R.I. McDavid, Jr., *The Pronunciation of English in the Atlantic States* (1961), R. Shuy, "The Northern Midland Dialect Boundary in Illinois" (1962) and *A Survey of Verb Forms in the Eastern United States* (1963), and G.R. Wood, "Dialect Contours in the Southern States" (1963). Shuy's *Discovering American Dialects* (1967) is a compact, understandable summary of what dialects are, how they differ, and how this type of fieldwork in dialectology can be completed.

William Labov used a sociolinguistic approach in his study of language differences in New York City. His dissertation research, published in *The Social Stratification of English in New York City* (1966), provides a starting point from which to examine sociolinguistic studies. Among other research findings, he learned that English in the Lower East Side of New York City was socially stratified, and that certain patterns of linguistic behavior seemed indicative of persons who were upwardly mobile, socially stable, and downwardly mobile. Labov's research has prompted other sociolinguistic research studies to be undertaken in other large cities, including Wolfram's (1969) study, *A Sociolinguistic Description of Detroit Negro Speech*.

Basil Bernstein's (1964) research was completed among British children of the working and lower classes. He differentiated between the short, often incomplete thoughts of the restricted code of language, and the more detailed language of the elaborated code. He found

that the lower classes tended to rely on the restricted code, while the working class subjects were able to use both codes. Bernstein's work is included in F. Williams' *Language and Poverty* (1970), a text that should be familiar to intercultural communication scholars. The essays presented under Williams' editorship in *Language and Poverty* offer a more complete view of sociolinguistics than his later text, *Language and Speech* (1972). Some interesting information, however, is presented in Chapter Six, "Sociological Perspectives," of his latter book.

A particularly thorough analysis of sociolinguistic research is *The Study of Social Dialects in American English* (1974) by W. Wolfram and R. Fasold. Field Methods, Linguistic Diagnostic Phonological and Grammatical Features are among the topics discussed. However, this book is most valuable as a research tool for those who wish to engage in sociolinguistic research. Familiarity with sociolinguistics is assumed, so the book is not suitable for a beginner. The bibliography of this book contains citations for a number of United States Office of Education Project Reports as well as books, articles, and dissertations.

Thus, several research approaches have been identified for studying regional dialects and sociolinguistics. As educators began to relate this research to the classroom, a significant amount of attention was turned to confronting problems faced by teachers of classes in which many cultures were represented. Educators and researchers alike began to explore the validity of teaching all school children one, "standardized" form of English. Racial and ethnic minorities began to clamor for the "right to their own language," and for the use of textbooks and supplemental aids more relevant to their own cultural heritages. In the midst of these issues came the demand for teachers themselves to become more sensitive to cultural differences.

In response to these growing interests, the National Council of Teachers of English began to publish a number of texts on dialects and language problems and programs in multicultural education. Among these are *Social Dialects and Language Learning* (1965), edited by R. Shuy, *Dimensions of Dialect* (1967), edited by E.L. Evertts, *Research Bases for Oral Language Instruction* (1971), edited by T.D. Horn, and *Language Programs for the Disadvantaged* (1965). While the four initial texts are compilations of articles on dialects and education, many relevant to the elementary school, *Language Programs for the Disadvantaged* represents the work of a National Task Force of the N.C.T.E. Members of the Task Force visited one hundred and fifteen school districts and agencies to learn about reading and language programs for the disadvantaged. The report includes discussions of elementary, secondary, and adult education programs, observations on teacher education, program administration, and articles on dialects. The appendices include References on Educating the Disadvantaged, Language Learning and the Disadvantaged, and Selected Bulletins and Materials. Although the text is ten years old, it is a useful handbook for those involved in multinational education.

A good reference book for teachers is *Culture, Class, and Language Variety* (1972), edited by A.L. Davis. Articles with dialectal and sociolinguistic considerations are included in the text. Of particular interest and relevance are the McDavid and Card article, "Problem Areas in Grammar," which is actually a discussion of differences between parts of speech in standard and nonstandard English, and R. McDavid's "Checklist of Significant Features for Discriminating Social Dialects." A tape, which includes the voices of a thirteen-year-old Puerto Rican girl living in Chicago, a fourteen-year-old black girl from Memphis, and a

ten-year-old Appalachian boy, accompanies the text and transcriptions are found in the book. This book is labelled "a resource book for teachers," and educators who are interested in exploring dialects and sociolinguistics in the classroom may well wish to refer to this text.

A third text that teachers in multicultural settings may wish to consult is Labov's *The Study of Nonstandard English* (1970). This short monograph provides a good review of the nature of language, sociolinguistic principles, and their implications for education. The focus of this work is clearly on the classroom, and the information he presents is clear, succinct, and relevant. His final chapter is devoted to how to conduct sociolinguistic research within the school. A bibliography is included. Like Shuy's 1967 text, Labov's short book should be familiar to those interested in sociolinguistics and dialects.

Two books that are particularly helpful in learning about language behavior in a multicultural educational setting are *Language and Cultural Diversity in American Education* (1972), edited by Abrahams and Troike, and *Linguistic-Cultural Differences and American Education* (1969), edited by Aarons, Gordon, and Stewart.

Language and Cultural Diversity in American Education is a collection of essays designed, as the editors explain, "to serve the teacher of cultural and linguistic minorities in pluralistic America. . . ."(6) The editors argue that teachers must understand the cultural backgrounds of their students is more meaningful learning is to take place within the classroom. In Part 1, The Problem, Abrahams' article, "Stereotyping and Beyond," is a useful examination of the process and implications of stereotyping. Part 2 is devoted to Cultures in Education. Part 3, Language, contains some observations on the relationship of language to culture, as well as articles about the Linguistic Atlases, dialect areas in the United States, and the historical development of the English language. Parts 4 and 5, Sociolinguistics and Black English, are exceptionally strong. Articles by Joos, "The Styles of the Five Clocks," Susan Phillips, "Acquisition of Rules for Appropriate Speech Usage," J.J. Gumperz, "Verbal Strategies in Multilingual Education," and Abrahams and Gay, "Talking Black in the Classroom" are among those in Part 4. Besides familiar articles by McDavid and McDavid, Labov and Stewart, two articles focus on reading problems and one centers on grammatical structures in relation to black dialects in the Black English section. Part 6 offers applications for teaching. Of particular interest is V. Allen's article, "A Second Dialect is not a Second Language." The book is indexed. Though not for beginning students, this book contains material for relevant discussions concerning the applications of sociolinguistic and dialect research in education.

Similarly, the Special Anthology issue of the *Florida Fl Reporter, Linguistic-Cultural Differences and American Education*, provides for a comprehensive anthology of articles relating to education in multicultural settings. The book is divided into four parts: The Role of the School, Cultural Pluralism and the Teaching of English, Theoretical Considerations and Curriculum Development. Topics range from black, Mexican-American and urban education to the Chinese immigrant, the use of culture as a teaching aid and psychological motivations in language learning. The sections on Cultural Pluralism and the Teaching of English and Curriculum Development are well developed. This book is also recommended for those who are interested in multicultural education.

A text containing very detailed analyses of regional and social dialects is *A Various Language* (1972), edited by Williamson and Burke. The authors are obviously influenced by the work of Kurath and his associates, as demonstrated by their choice of essays. In addition, Kurath's

"By Way of Introduction" further exemplifies the emphasis of this anthology. The book is divided into six parts. The initial two sections, A Various Language and Inherited Features, include articles by Kurath, McDavid, Turner, and others. Part 3, Literary Representations of American English Dialects, seems to be out of place, though the essays on the use of dialects in Poe's "The Gold Bug," Twain's *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* and the works of Joel Chandler Harris and Eugene O'Neill may provide instructors with additional material for class consideration. In Parts 4, 5, and 6, the reader is brought back from the realm of literature to Aspects of Regional and Social Dialects, Selected Sounds and Forms, and Studies of Urban Dialect. An asset to this book is the first appendix, Selected Dissertation Abstracts on Social and Regional Dialects. The detailed nature of this book lessens its usefulness to undergraduate students, but the book provides a thorough representation of research on dialects in America.

In contrast to this, *Introductory Readings on Language*, 4th edition (1975), edited by Anderson and Stageberg, is designed for freshmen students. The articles are generally short, understandable, and adoptable for either written or oral assignments. Some articles of relevance to dialect and sociolinguistic study are presented under the headings of Linguistic Geography, Sociolinguistics, Usage, and Psycholinguistics, but an instructor should examine this text carefully before deciding if the book's offerings sufficiently cover the units that the instructor may wish to emphasize.

Portions of other textbooks may be useful in examining sociolinguistics and regional dialects. In *Language: Introductory Readings* (1972), edited by Clark, Eschholz, and Rosa, attention is given to Language, Thought and Culture, Systems of Grammar, Words, Meaning, and the Dictionary, Americans Speaking, and Space and the Language of the Body. P. Woolfson's article, "Speech is More than Language," is a worthwhile component of the first section. Essays by Marckwardt, McNeill, and Flexner comprise part of the section of Words, Meaning and the Dictionary, with Ossie Davis' "The English Language is my Enemy" and W.W. Duncan's "How 'White' is Your Dictionary?" also included. Besides articles by Shuy, McDavid, Labov, and Stewart, two articles with contrasting points of view are included: "Should Ghettoese be Accepted?" by W. Raspberry, and "Bi-Dialectalism: the Linguistics of White Supremacy," by J. Sledd. The final part of the book is concerned with various aspects of nonverbal communication, including space, body language, gestures, and "how to" excerpts. Reviews and discussion questions, project suggestions, and bibliographies are provided for each unit.

The sections of Smith's text, *Language, Communication, and Rhetoric in Black America* (1972), also merit consideration. Articles by Baratz, Erickson, Wolfram, Ossie Davis, and Grace Holt are among the selections. This text is designed for an introductory course in black communication, and contains rhetorical case studies, as well as articles relating to social change, sociological and historical subjects. Smith's *Transracial Communication* (1973) or Rich's *Interracial Communication* (1974) may also be used as basic texts in a course of this nature. For further information on teaching units or courses on black communication, see either *Black Communication: Dimensions of Research and Instruction* (1974), edited by J. Daniel or the *Proceedings of the 1974 SCA Summer Conference: Practical Applications of Intercultural Communication*, for syllabi, bibliographies, and discussions of issues relevant to teaching and research in black communication.

A comprehensive examination of black English is J.L. Dillard's *Black English: its History*

and Usage in the United States (1972). Parts of the book become quite technical, though Dilliard manages to avoid the transformational grammar notations that are found in several other books mentioned in this essay. Beginning with "Black English and the Academic Establishment," Dilliard continues with discussions of the structure and history of black English, pidgin English, and black and Southern dialect. He also explores the question, "Who Speaks Black English?" In his final chapter, he returns to education and black English. A glossary, extensive bibliography, and explanation of the pronunication of black English enhance the usefulness of this work.

Black-White Speech Relationships (1971), edited by W. Wolfram and N.H. Clarke, is the seventh book in the Urban Language Series. The other books in the series, all published by the Center for Applied Linguistics, are listed in the bibliography. *Black-White Speech Relationships* is a collection of articles that show a chronological progression of thought and research on the relationships and differences between language patterns of blacks and whites.

L. Turner's article, "Problems Confronting the Investigator of Gullah," is the first essay. This is followed by an often-reproduced article by McDavid and McDavid, "The Relationship of the Speech of American Negroes to the Speech of Whites." In his article, "Toward a New Perspective in Negro English Dialectology," B. L. Bailey presents the view that Southern black English has its roots in "some Proto-Creole grammatical structure," this making it a unique dialect. This article is followed by two of William Stewart's often-reprinted articles, "Continuity and Change in American Negro Dialects" and "Sociolinguistic Factors in the History of American Negro Dialects." Lawrence M. Davis cautions on the generalizability of some of the early work on dialects in his article, "Dialect Research: Mythology and Reality." Nevertheless, he argues for the necessity of continued, systematic research. In his essay, "Black Through White: Patterns of Communication in Africa and the New World," David Dalby outlines a history of black language beginning with the development of the slave trade in Africa in the fifteenth century. This article is a more detailed analysis of the development of black English than Stewart's "Sociolinguistic Factors, . . ." previously mentioned. Wolfram concludes the edition with "Black-White Speech Differences Revisited."

A topical approach is used in *Viewpoints: Social and Educational Insights into Teaching Standard English to Speakers of other Dialects* (1971), edited by M.L. Imhoof. This text, which is an edition of the *Bulletin of the School of Education* at Indiana University, is a collection of six lectures on language problems faced by inner city school children and teachers. Issues such as "Teacher Attitude and Ghetto Language," "Attitudes and Beliefs about Spanish and English among Puerto Ricans," and "Aspects of Instructional Product Design" are included. The majority of essays in this text should be of interest to both teachers in multicultural settings or students who are learning about issues confronting educators in the urban environment.

These studies on dialects and sociolinguistics are two related avenues that teachers and researchers in intercultural communication should be aware of. Contributions have been made by linguists, anthropologists, psychologists, sociologists, English personnel, communication scholars, applied linguists, and educational theorists. This essay has provided a brief review of some published works in these two areas. No single bibliography, however, could cover adequately all the research on dialects and sociolinguists, though these texts serve as useful starting points. Further understanding and development of these theories are

necessary in order to minimize the amount of communicative obstruction these variances of American English produce. (Dr. Barbara Monfils)

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DIRECTORY OF ORGANIZATIONS CONCERNED WITH INTERNATIONAL/INTERCULTURAL COMMUNICATION STUDY, TEACHING, RESEARCH, PRACTICE, SPONSORSHIP

Corinne K. Flemings

Listings which follow are intended to expand the usefulness of last year's Directory. For another year the format will follow its original intent in covering broadly all organizations which concern themselves in some way with the better understanding of communication processes across cultural and/or national boundaries. As with last year's Directory, the following listings are presented within the framework of this rationale:

1. Organizations rather than individuals are included.
2. Focuses are with human rather than mechanical, oral rather than written aspects of idea exchange.
3. Schools are included only if their primary offerings rather than one program of study or one course are in international/intercultural communication.
4. Conscious, objective study of communication with well-defined projects and reported conclusions may not engross the groups listed. Their efforts may be informally directed toward understanding under unstructured or barely structured conditions. They are listed because their activities may well be in a setting that a scholar would find useful in search of objective and controlled observations.
5. Entries are arranged alphabetically because they cannot be classified exclusively as research sources, practical experience opportunities, study grant sources, etc.
6. Descriptions are not complete but represent only activities of interest to scholars of international/intercultural communication.
7. Most inclusions are based upon response to inquiries mailed by the Annual's Assistant Editor.

Another year will undoubtedly demand a new rationale and format to provide more depth than breadth, and sharper focus.

Deadline space limitations last year required a cutting of materials, done at random, and, unfortunately, resulting in incomplete cross-references in several cases. For that reason, some listings are repeated this year to provide within one volume the complete references and cross-references which had been intended earlier. One or two entries have been repeated with new addresses or other up-dated information.

The following directories warrant relisting because of new information concerning publication data or fees:

COMMUNICATION DIRECTORY 1973-74. Silver Spring, Maryland: Council of Communication Societies, 1974.
($4.00 prepaid, $8.00 when invoiced, to Council of Communication Societies, P.O. Box 1074, Silver Spring, Maryland 20910)

DIRECTORY OF CROSS-CULTURAL RESEARCH AND RESEARCHERS, edited by J. Berry, W. Lonner, and J. Leroux. Bellingham, Washington: Center for Cross-Cultural Research, Department of Psychology, Western Washington State College, 1973.
($3.50 to DIRECTORY, W.J. Lonner, Center for Cross-Cultural Research, Western

Washington State College, Bellingham, Washington 98255)

INTERNATIONAL DIRECTORY FOR EDUCATIONAL LIAISON. Washington, D.C.: Overseas Liaison Committee of the American Council on Education, 1973.
($5.50 plus 50 cents postage and handling to Publication Office, American Council on Education, One Dupont Circle, Washington, D.C. 20036)

ACTION
Washington, D. C. 20525
U.S. government agency administers programs of Peace Corps (see), Vista (see), UYA, Score, Ace, RSVP, Foster Grandparents, Senior Companion Program. Volunteers of Peace Corps and Vista receive pre-service training in language, culture, customs, social and political systems, and history as preparation for service in international and/or intercultural environment.

AFRICAN BIBLIOGRAPHIC CENTER
P.O. Box 13096
Washington, D.C. 20009
Depository of materials covering African cultures and current events. Through the Washington Task Force on African Affairs, organizes and conducts workshops. Publishes and distributes bibliographies and other publications. Offers telephone information and news service on African affairs.

AMERICAN ASSOCIATION FOR JEWISH EDUCATION
114 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York 10011
National service agency for coordination, promotion, and research in American Jewish education. Its Commission on Jewish Studies in Public Schools has been instrumental in organizing and incorporating an Association for Multiethnic Programs to foster, sponsor, and formulate curricular programs to stimulate understanding of and interchanges among all races, people, and ethnic groups; to develop pedagogical materials for elementary and secondary schools and institutions of higher learning; to develop programs of co-curricular and extra-curricular design; to collaborate with educators in formulation of programs.

THE AMERICAN ASSOCIATION OF LANGUAGE SPECIALISTS
1000 Connecticut Avenue, N.W.
Suite 9
Washington, D.C. 20036
Professional association of language specialists working at an international level, either in conferences or in permanent organizations.

AMERICAN ASSOCIATION OF TEACHERS OF ARABIC
Frederic J. Cadora, Executive Secretary
Ohio State University Arabic Program
1841 Milliken Road
Columbus, Ohio 43210
Professional organization of college teachers of Arabic language, literature, and linguistics in the U.S. and Canada. Meets annually with Middle East Studies Association of North America (see). Prepares and publishes teaching materials and a semi-annual.

AMERICAN ASSOCIATION OF TEACHERS OF FRENCH
F.W. Nachtmann, Executive Secretary
57 E. Armory Avenue
Champaign, Illinois 61820
Membership association of teachers of the language. Sponsors the Bureau de Correspondance Scholaire for foreign language letter exchanges between students of France and the U.S. Sponsors national contest, exhibits, high school honorary society, flights to France. Holds annual convention. Publishes bi-monthly review.

AMERICAN ASSOCIATION OF TEACHERS OF ITALIAN
Joseph E. Laggini, Secretary Treasurer
Department of Italian, Rutgers College
New Brunswick, New Jersey 08903
Membership association of teachers of the language. Works for better understanding of English and Italian languages, and of the Italian-American. Holds annual meeting in conjunction with Modern Language Association Convention. Publishes *Italica*.

AMERICAN AUSTRIAN SOCIETY OF WASHINGTON
c/o Heinz A. Gorges
3705 Sleepy Hollow Road
Falls Church, Virginia 22041
Individual and family (of Armenian and Austrian origin) membership organization, supports Austro-American Institute of Education, (Operngasse 4, Vienna I, Austria) and functions partly as social, partly educational group.

AMERICAN BUSINESS COMMUNICATION ASSOCIATION
317–B David Kinley Hall
University of Illinois
Urbana, Illinois 61801
International Communication Committee (309 Ross Hall, Iowa State University, Ames, Iowa 50010) serves as clearing house for information for members and non-members covering national and international business communication. First international meeting, 27-30 December 1975, Toronto, Canada.

AMERICAN CIVIC ASSOCIATION, INC.
131 Front Street
Binghamton, New York 13905
Member agency of Broome County United Fund and American Council for Nationalities Service. Membership open to individuals, families, and groups upon written application. Assists foreign-born U.S. citizens and visitors in citizenship matters; provides social events, fairs, and some classes and tutoring where numerous ethnic groups of Broome County interact and learn about contrasting cultures, languages. Publishes newsletter.

AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF IRANIAN STUDIES
West Asian Department, Royal Ontario Museum
100 Queen's Park
Toronto, Ontario M5S 2C6, Canada
Membership organization undertakes programs in Iran and North America to facilitate research on Iran. Provides grants in support of binational projects. Organizes lectures and

seminars for visiting scholars to encourage intellectual colloquy; has initiated a course in colloquial Persian. Maintains research and reference library. Publishes newsletter.

AMERICAN INSTITUTES FOR RESEARCH
3301 New Mexico Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20016
Contracts and grants for human relations research and programs designed to prevent discrimination, conflict, and conditions conducive to same among persons of mixed ethnic, racial, cultural, economic, political, educational, and work experiences. Focuses on development of constructive interpersonal values, attitudes, and behaviors.

AMERICAN LIBRARY ASSOCIATION
50 East Huron Street
Chicago, Illinois 60611
Member of International Federation of Library Associations which plans exchanges and orientation of librarians among countries. Includes Association of College and Research Libraries.

AMERICAN–NEPAL EDUCATIONAL FOUNDATION
P.O. Box ANEF
Oceanside, Oregon 97134
Provides scholarship assistance to Nepalese students.

AMERICAN RESEARCH INSTITUTE IN TURKEY
1155 East 58th Street
Chicago, Illinois 60637
(Also addresses in Istanbul and Ankara)
Institutional membership organization, with U.S. government grants and private donations, provides scholarships for research in all fields of the humanities and social sciences in Turkey. Grants are awarded for research at the Ph.D. dissertation level and beyond.

THE AMERICAN–SCANDINAVIAN FOUNDATION
127 East 73rd Street
New York, New York 10021
Membership organization advances cultural and intellectual relations between the U. S. and Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Norway, and Sweden. Maintains interchange of students, teachers, lecturers, publications, art, music, and science, and supports all forms of educational intercourse between the U.S. and those countries. Publishes monthly bulletin and books.

THE AMERICAN SOCIETY FOR AESTHETICS
The Cleveland Museum of Art
Cleveland, Ohio 44106
Membership corporation operates exclusively for the promotion of a study, research, discussion, and publication in aesthetics and related fields. Promotes study from philosophic, scientific, historical, critical, or educational point of view of visual arts, music, literature, theater, dance, and film arts. Holds annual meeting for presentation of papers, and regional meetings. Publishes quarterly magazine.

THE AMERICAN SOCIETY FOR NEO–HELLENIC STUDIES, INC.
c/o Dr. C. N. Tsirpanlis
2754 Claflin Avenue
Bronx, New York 10468
Non-profit membership organization promotes knowledge and scholarly research concerning modern Greek language, literature, history, theology, philosophy, arts, sciences, and folklore. Interested in cultural activities of Greeks in the U. S. and throughout the world. Publishes newsletter.

AMERICAN SOCIETY OF GEOLINGUISTICS
Kenneth H. Rogers, Secretary
Department of Languages
University of Rhode Island
Kingston, Rhode Island 02881
Individual, institutional, honorary, and student membership society gathers and disseminates up-to-date knowledge concerning the world's present-day languages: their distribution and population use; their relative practical importance, usefulness, and availability from the economic, political and cultural standpoints; their basic grammatical phonological and lexical structures; their genetic, historical and geographic affiliations and relationships; and their identifications and use in spoken and written form. Publishes quarterly newsletter.

AMERICAN SPEECH AND HEARING ASSOCIATION
9030 Old Georgetown Road
Washington, D.C. 20014
Maintains a standing Committee on International Affairs which facilitates professional interaction among speech and hearing scientists and clinicians. Is a member of the International Association of Logopedics and Phoniatrics. Informally assists speech pathologists and audiologists from all countries in making foreign contacts. Several members engaged in active studies of speech and language behavior among populations of contrasting cultural background.

AMERICAN–SWISS ASSOCIATION, INC.
60 East 42nd Street
New York, New York 10017
Individual and corporate membership organization stimulates study of French, German, Italian, and Spanish. Rents language-study TV and cinema films of real commercials presented in above languages. Semi-annual, four-language magazine to teacher-members.

AMERICAN TRANSLATORS ASSOCIATION
P.O. Box 129
Croton-on-Hudson, New York 10520
As member of Federation Internationale des Traducteurs is involved in UNESCO's efforts to bring about international agreements in the field of translation. Conducts workshops and seminars to improve translation skills in all aspects of translation.

AMERICAN TURKISH SOCIETY, INC.
380 Madison Avenue
New York, New York 10017
Non-profit individual and corporate membership organization fosters commercial and

cultural relations between the U.S. and Turkey. Sponsors business projects, annual reception, annual luncheon, informal gatherings of U.S. and Turkish business executives for interpersonal exchanges and sharing of lectures, films, and exhibits of Turkish culture. Maintains library.

AMERICAN UNIVERSITIES FIELD STAFF
3 Lebanon Street
Hanover, New Hampshire 03755
Institution membership (by invitation) organization devoted to expanding U.S. understanding of the nature and dynamics of foreign cultures, especially in the nonmodern world. Offers publications, courses of instruction abroad, teaching materials, films which represent results of research by staff of Associates who pursue continuing studies in foreign areas. Publishes reports and books.

ANGLO–AMERICAN ASSOCIATES
117 East 35th Street
New York, New York 10016
Informal group drawn from universities in United Kingdom, the U.S., and the Commonwealth to promote broad field of British studies through exchange of services, circulation of information, initiation and support of pertinent projects, organization of international symposia. Publishes newsletter and a periodic survey.

ARMENIAN LITERARY SOCIETY
114 First Street
Yonkers, New York 10704
Ethnic cultural group sponsors lectures and public meetings devoted to literary and cultural topics; distributes Armenian materials to worldwide institutions. Issues a semi-annual.

THE ASIA FOUNDATION
Mail: P. O. Box 3223
Office: 550 Kearney Street
San Francisco, California 94119
Publicly-supported, non-profit organization interested in human dimension in Asia – educational, social, and cultural. Supports Asian individuals and institutions in problem-solution, development of human resources. On ad-hoc basis awards grants in U.S. for projects in cross-cultural communications. Supervises Books for Asia Program. Publishes annual review, a quarterly, a student handbook, and a fortnightly newspaper during school year for Asians studying in the U.S.

ASSOCIATION FOR ASIAN STUDIES, INC.
1 Lane Hall, University of Michigan
Ann Arbor, Michigan 48104
Individual membership organization promotes interest in and scholarly study of Asia. Facilitates contact and exchanges of information among scholars. Holds annual meeting, helps to support regional meetings, sponsors through its committees special conferences. Publishes a quarterly journal, an annual bibliography, monographs and occasional papers, a newsletter five times a year, an annual review, and a semi-annual doctoral dissertations column.

ASSOCIATION FOR EDUCATION IN JOURNALISM
Quintus Wilson, Executive Secretary
102 Reavis Hall, Northern Illinois University
DeKalb, Illinois 60115
Membership organization of journalism teachers, students, others. Sponsors special interest divisions concerned with international communications, mass communication and society, communication theory and methodology, public relations, radio-television, and others.

ASSOCIATION FOR EDUCATIONAL COMMUNICATION AND TECHNOLOGY
1201-16th Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036
Sponsors governmental and personal exchanges of persons and materials. Holds annual meeting.

ASSOCIATION FOR MULTIETHNIC PROGRAMS – See American Association for Jewish Education.

ASSOCIATION "FRANCE–ETATS–UNIS"
6, Boulevard de Grenelle
Paris 75015, France
Publishes FRANCE U.S.A., a journal for French speakers interested in learning about U.S. culture, education, current events, etc.

ASSOCIATION INTERNATIONALE POUR LA RECHERCHE ET LA DIFFUSION DES METHODES AUDIO–VISUELLES ET STRUCTURO–GLOBALES
Universite de Gand
Department de Methodologie et de Litterature Francaise
Blandijnberg 2
B–9000–Gent, Belgium
Non-profit multidisciplinary, international membership organization directs and encourages research relating to theoretical and practical aspects of communication in its widest sense; disseminates results of projects and research. Publishes studies.

THE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICAN WIVES OF EUROPEANS
c/o France-Amerique
9, Avenue Franklin Roosevelt
Paris 75008, France
Membership organization of American women permanently rooted in Europe, promotes bi-lingual studies and coordinated efforts toward informing members of their rights and responsibilities and helping them pass on to their children a certain American heritage. Member of the Federation of American Womens' Clubs Overseas.

ASSOCIATION OF COLLEGE AND RESEARCH LIBRARIES
50 East Huron Street
Chicago, Illinois 60611
See American Library Association.

ASSOCIATION OF SOCIAL AND BEHAVIORAL SCIENTISTS, INC.

Jacquelyn J. Jackson, Executive Secretary
Box 3003, Duke University Medical Center
Durham, North Carolina 27710
Membership organization brings together black (and other) social scientists for interaction on research findings, curriculum revisions, etc., particularly concerning blacks, in the U.S. Holds annual meetings. Publishes quarterly journal.

ATLANTIC EDUCATION TRUST
37A High Street
Wimbledon, London SW19 5BY, England
With Atlantic Information Centre for Teachers, publishes papers, organizes conferences, and runs an information service in order to spread understanding in international affairs and to aid in teaching methods in that area.

ATLANTIC INFORMATION CENTRE FOR TEACHERS
An association of the Atlantic Education Trust (see).

CANADIAN ASSOCIATION FOR AMERICAN STUDIES
314 Stong College, York University
4700 Keele Street
Downsview, Ontario M3J 1P3, Canada
Membership organization of interdisciplinary scholars who investigate and share findings about the culture, history, and problems of the U.S. Meets annually. Publishes semi-annual.

CANADIAN INTEREST GROUP IN INTERCULTURAL EDUCATION
c/o David P. Major
Training Programs, Evaluation and Research Section
Department of Indian and Northern Affairs
Centennial Towers, Room 202
400 Laurier Avenue, W
Ottawa, Ontario K1A OH4, Canada
Membership group devoted to exchange of information about intercultural education, training, and research.

CENTER FOR CROSS–CULTURAL COMMUNICATION
Forerunner of Museum of African Art (see).

CENTER FOR INTERNATIONAL PROGRAMS AND COMPARATIVE STUDIES
The State Education Department
The University of the State of New York
99 Washington Avenue
Albany, New York 12210
State- and federal government-funded and privately supported office strengthens opportunities and resources for study of other areas of the world in schools, colleges, and universities of New York State, particularly in programs of teacher education. Special interests are societies and cultures of Asia, Africa, Latin America, Russia, and East Europe. Maintains staffs in the State Education Department, Albany; Foreign Area Materials Center, New York City (see); The Educational Resources Center, New Delhi, India (see.) Sponsors study programs in New York State and elsewhere in the U.S. and abroad. Collaborates

nationally and internationally on conferences and other activities. Publishes wide variety of publications, tapes, slides, and other teaching aids.

CENTER FOR LATIN AMERICAN STUDIES
University of Florida
Gainesville, Florida 32611
A group of educators who produce materials for and direct pursuit of integrated, multidisciplinary studies of Latin America. Sponsors annual conference, teacher workshops, Aymara Language Program. Publishes bi-monthly newsletter.

CENTER FOR NORTHERN EDUCATIONAL RESEARCH
7th Floor, Gruening Building
Fairbanks, Alaska 99701
Governmental advisory group promotes programs for study of intercultural communication, comparative anthropology, and cross-cultural education for improvement of public education in Alaska. Publishes studies, teaching aids.

COLORADO INSTITUTE FOR INTERCULTURAL STUDIES
Crested Butte, Colorado 81224
Non-profit corporation conducts short-term seminars in American studies for foreign students coming into the U.S., and intercultural communication workshops for colleges and universities.

COMMISSION ON INTERNATIONAL AND INTERCULTURAL COMMUNICATION
Speech Communication Association
Skyline Center
5205 Leesburg Pike
Falls Church, Virginia 22401
Commission affiliated with Speech Communication Association.

CONFERENCE ON LATIN AMERICAN HISTORY
Center for Latin America
University of Wisconsin–Milwaukee
Milwaukee, Wisconsin 53201
Membership society affiliated with the American Historical Association, promotes historical study of Latin America. Meets annually in conjunction with AHA. Publishes Latin American History Series; cooperates in publication of journal; awards publication and service prizes.

COUNCIL FOR EUROPEAN STUDIES
156 Mervis Hall, University of Pittsburgh
Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania 15260
Ford Foundation-based society serves American social scientists whose research interests center on European society and politics, including Mediterranean and Scandinavian countries. Promotes comparative studies and international scholarly contacts. Serves as information and student exchange center. Sponsors training programs, workshops; supports seminars and conferences.

COUNCIL FOR INTERCULTURAL STUDIES AND PROGRAMS
Foreign Area Materials Center

60 East 42nd Street
New York, New York 10017
Membership organization of twelve regional associations of colleges throughout the U.S. promotes transnational and intercultural studies, primarily undergraduate. Sponsors Foreign Area Materials Center (see), faculty seminars and workshops, conferences, an information service, and related activities. Publishes monthly newsletter.

COUNCIL FOR INTERNATIONAL EXCHANGE OF SCHOLARS
National Research Council
2101 Constitution Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20418
Principal private agency cooperating in the administration of the Fulbright-Hayes program of grants to U.S. university lecturers and advanced research scholars for study or lecturing in countries around the world. Study and lecture areas include most fields.

COUNCIL FOR THE STUDY OF MANKIND, INC.
Gerhard Hirschfeld, Executive Director
950-2nd Street, No. 308
Santa Monica, California 90403
Private, grant-supported organization of educators and scholars associated with business, professional, and civic leaders. Based in U.S., with cooperating groups and individuals in other countries. Sponsors educational programs in elementary and secondary schools and for teachers to arouse universal consciousness of other cultures. Organizes lectures, conferences, discussion groups and meetings. Publishes a bulletin three times a year.

COUNCIL ON INTERNATIONAL EDUCATIONAL EXCHANGE
777 United Nations Plaza
New York, New York 10017
Private, non-profit organization with membership of North American academic institutions and national organizations which sponsor educational exchange programs. Aids international activities of its members, other exchange organizations, and the individual student, teacher and other young adult engaged in educational exchange and travel. Administers cooperative study and exchange programs including undergraduate language programs in Europe and the U.S.S.R., a film studies program in Paris, programs to and from Japan, and a high school exchange service. Sponsors workshops and conferences for educators and administrators in the field of educational exchange. Issues publications on work, study and travel abroad in the U.S.

COUNCIL ON INTERRACIAL BOOKS FOR CHILDREN, INC.
1841 Broadway
New York, New York 10023
Organization of writers, editors, illustrators, educators, promotes children's literature that better reflects realities of a multicultural society. Holds seminars and workshops to develop consciousness and evaluation skills of themes, character delineation, language, etc. of educational materials. Sponsors annual contest for new writers in juvenile field. Publishes bulletin eight times a year.

DEFENSE LANGUAGE INSTITUTE, SYSTEMS DEVELOPMENT AGENCY
Department of the Army, Presidio

Monterey, California 93940
Government agency develops and revises all foreign language courses in the Defense Language Program. Instructs in the national cultures of twenty-five present language courses, offered through discussion of social, educational, political, etc. aspects of relevant countries.

EAST–WEST CENTER
1777 East West Road
Honolulu, Hawaii 96822
Academic center for study of problems of mutual concern to peoples of Asia, the Pacific area, and the U.S.

THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES CENTER
D–53 Defense Colony
New Delhi 110024, India
Office of the Center for International Programs and Comparative Studies (see). Collaborates with a number of Indian institutions and organizations for international studies. Publishes occasional newsletter and miscellaneous papers.

EUROPEAN COORDINATION CENTRE FOR RESEARCH AND DOCUMENTATION IN SOCIAL SCIENCES
Grunangergasse 2
Vienna I, Austria
Autonomous organization of the International Social Science Council, composed of international research groups. Sponsors and coordinates cross-cultural comparative research, awards grants, publishes results.

FEDERATION INTERNATIONALE DES TRADUCTEURS – See American Translators Association.

FEDERATION POUR DE RESPECT DE L'HOMME ET DE L'HUMANITE
20 rue Laffitte
Paris 75009, France
Organization represented in 34 countries, pledged to intercultural recognition and understanding through oral and written exchange of ideas in seminars, conferences, films, and publication of journal.

FOREIGN AREA MATERIALS CENTER
11 West 42nd Street
New York, New York 10036
Office of the Center for International Programs and Comparative Studies (see). Prepares and distributes materials on foreign area studies, primarily at the undergraduate level. Sponsored by the Council for Intercultural Studies and Programs (see).

FREDERICK DOUGLASS INSTITUTE OF NEGRO ARTS AND HISTORY
Companion institution of Museum of African Art (see).

FRIENDS OF MICRONESIA
2325 McKinley Avenue
Berkeley, California 94703

Publication group supports Micronesian identity and culture. Issues four newsletters a year and miscellaneous papers.

GESELLSCHAFT FUR WISSENSCHAFTLICHE GESPRACHSPSYCHOTHERAPIE E.V.
2. Hd. Dipl.-Psych. Jankowski
Stephanstrasse 81
87 Wurzburg, Germany
Organization sponsors meetings, workshops, and instruction following psychotherapy methods of Dr. Carl R. Rogers and Reinhard Tausch.

THE HOSPITALITY AND INFORMATION SERVICE FOR DIPLOMATIC RESIDENTS AND FAMILIES (THIS)
1630 Crescent Place, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20009
Private, voluntary service of The Meridian House Foundation (see). Assists foreign diplomatic families in adjusting to Washington, D.C., and the U.S. through tours, English conversation groups and language classes, cultural activities, home visits. Publishes guide booklets and miscellaneous papers.

THE INSTITUTE FOR PALESTINE STUDIES
Ashqar Building, Clemenceau Street
P.O. Box 11-7164
Beirut, Lebanon
Non-profit Arab research organization focuses on aspects of the Palestine problem and Arab-Israeli conflict: historical, social, political, and economic. Participates in international conferences and seminars. Publishes annual series, periodicals, bi-weekly bulletin, books, monographs, quarterly journal, and a yearbook.

INSTITUTO INTERAMERICANO DE LINGUISTICA
Departamento de Estudios Hispanicos
Universidad de Puerto Rico
Rio Piedras, Puerto Rico 00931
Association promotes development of institutions and individuals in all fields of linguistics and language teaching. Sponsors symposia on irregular schedule.

INTERCULTURAL COMMUNICATIONS NETWORK
107 Mineral Industries Building, University of Pittsburgh
Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania 15260

INTERCULTURE, INC.
51 Norfold Street, No. 2
Cambridge, Massachusetts 02139
Non-profit organization explores and promotes theoretical and practical applications of national international cross-cultural communication. Offers services in cross-cultural planning, research, program development, and communication.

INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR MASS COMMUNICATION RESEARCH
Centre for Mass Communication Research
University of Leicester

104 Regent Road
Leicester LE1 7LT, England
International membership association provides forum where researchers and others meet and exchange information. Seeks to bring about improvement in communication practice, policy, and research. Holds general assemblies.

INTERNATIONAL FEDERATION OF LIBRARY ASSOCIATIONS
See American Library Association

INTERNATIONAL MUSIC COUNCIL
UNESCO
1, rue Miollis
Paris 75732, France
Organization membership UNESCO organization implements UNESCO policy in field of music: promotes comparative studies, exchanges, education.

INTERNATIONAL READING ASSOCIATION
800 Barksdale Road
Newark, Delaware 19711
Professional membership organization committed to international and intercultural educational activities related to reading. Volunteer committees study early childhood oral language development, disabled readers, linguistics, etc. Sponsors annual convention in North America, biennial world congress outside North America, and regional conferences worldwide. Publishes three professional journals and ten to twenty individual publications.

INTERNATIONAL RESEARCH AND EXCHANGES BOARD
110 East 59th Street
New York, New York 10022
Organization established by American Council of Learned Societies and the Social Sciences Research Council to administer exchange programs between scholars of U.S. and countries of East-Central and Southeast Europe, including the German Democratic Republic, and the Soviet Union. Encourages comparative and cross-cultural scholarly research in socio-historical areas within contemporary and historical cultures of the exchange countries. Arranges travel grants. Awards scholarships.

INTERNATIONAL SOCIETY FOR GENERAL SEMANTICS
P.O. Box 2469
San Francisco, California 94126
Membership organization cooperates in exploring how words, language, and other means of communication influence an individual's image of himself and his world. Arranges individual study programs and semantics and communication seminars for business and professional groups. Sponsors conferences to promote interchange of ideas. Publishes a journal, books, study materials, tests, reprints, and annual catalogue.

INTERNATIONAL STUDIES ASSOCIATION
University Center for International Studies
University of Pittsburgh
Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania 15260
Professional association of scholars and students organized into eight geographic regions which hold workshops, luncheons, conventions, and symposia. Deals with persistent

problems associated with effective study of international affairs. Publishes quarterly, quarterly notes, monthly newsletter, volumes of occasional papers.

INTERNATIONAL TOASTMISTRESS CLUBS
Mrs. Bette King, Vice President
4624-A Channing Terrace
Columbus, Ohio 43227
Women's membership organization sponsors member clubs which develop leadership, parliamentary, and committee oral skills. Many clubs are bi-lingual and provide interpersonal, cross-cultural speech experience. Arranges regional conferences, annual international convention, and workshops. Publishes handbook and other educational materials.

INTERNATIONAL TRAINING CONSULTANTS, INC.
99 East Magnolia Boulevard
Burbank, California 91502
Privately held educational and occupational training corporation seeks to prepare individuals for government and business problem-solving responsibilities in a new culture.

INTERNATIONAL TRAINING INSTITUTE
Dupont Circle Building
1346 Connecticut Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036
Educational institution conducts intensive cross-cultural transition seminars for college-bound foreign students, as well as special seminars and tutorial programs. Also advises foreign students, organizations, others (for service charge) on problems of cross-cultural communication. Services available in English, French, German, and Spanish. Publishes newsletter twice a year.

THE INTERNATIONAL UNIVERSITY OF COMMUNICATIONS
1100-17th Street, N.W., Suite 314-315
Washington, D.C. 20036
Non-degree and Master's degree graduate-level institution educates and researches for effective application of communication to the critical needs of society. Emphasizes flexible interdisciplinary study oriented toward the social-political-economic needs of the world. Major areas of concern include international communications, urban and rural communications, governmental communications policy, educational communications, ecological communications, communications economics, communications law, information networks, and person-to-person communications.

THE INTERNATIONAL VISITORS SERVICE COUNCIL (IVIS)
801-19th Street, N.W., Suite L-3
Washington, D.C. 20006
Cooperative association of independent groups serves as coordinating facility for international activities. Information Center serves foreign visitors with language assistance and multilingual publications. Volunteers provide assistance at international conferences, programming, and other services for visitors.

INTER–TRIBAL INDIAN CEREMONIAL

P.O. Box 1029
Gallup, New Mexico 87301
Preserves and publicizes life-style, languages, and activities of American Indian culture groups within New Mexico.

THE IRISH AMERICAN CULTURAL INSTITUTE
683 Osceola Avenue
Saint Paul, Minnesota 55105
Public membership foundation promotes study of and research into Irish civilization with special emphasis on interrelationships between Irish and U.S. cultures. Produces TV programs, kinescopes. Awards prizes in Ireland for literature, music, art. Organizes exhibits, theatre productions, and an annual lecture series. Publishes a monthly, a quarterly journal, and other materials.

ISTITUTO ITALIANO DI CULTURA
686 Park Avenue
New York, New York 10021
Italian government's cultural agency in the U.S. to promote Italian language, culture, and books. Provides in-service courses for teachers of Italian language and literature in New York City; promotes cultural events of Italian interest; studies problems involved in cultural relations between Italy and the U.S. Maintains information service and library of print and audiovisual materials. Presents weekly radio program.

ITALIAN CULTURE COUNCIL, INC.
1140 Edgewood Parkway
Union, New Jersey 07083
Non-profit educational organization serves as clearing house for information on all aspects of Italian culture. Markets audio-lingual materials and teaching guides for language study. Publishes bulletins with instructional and travel information, record of research in all fields, bibliographies, etc.

THE MERIDIAN HOUSE FOUNDATION
1630 Crescent Place, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20009
Non-profit cultural and educational organization operates Meridian House, home of Washington International Center. Dedicated to the concept of partnership of private enterprise and government, service oranizations, and volunteer groups to promote community-wide approach to welcoming and serving foreign visitors to the U.S. Provides financial and administrative support for International Visitors Service Council (see) and The Hospitality and Information Service for Diplomatic Residents and Families (see). Serves as headquarters for The National Council for Community Services to International Visitors (see).

MIDDLE EAST STUDIES ASSOCIATION OF NORTH AMERICA, INC.
Hagop Kevorkian Center for Near Eastern Studies
New York University
50 Washington Square South
New York, New York 10003
Association of U.S., Canadian, and foreign scholars and institutions promotes scholarship

and instruction in area from Morocco to Pakistan and from Turkey to the Sudan. Holds annual meeting for interdisciplinary panel discussions on aspects of Middle East teaching and research. Publishes quarterly bulletin, quarterly journal, educational materials.

MINORITY RESEARCH CENTER, INC.
117 R Street, N.E.
Washington, D.C. 20002
Non-profit subsidized organization, newly titled from Negro Bibliographic & Research Center. Maintains research service. Publishes pamphlet series of bibliographies covering aspects of minority group life.

MODERN GREEK STUDIES ASSOCIATION
185 Nassau Street
Princeton, New Jersey 08540
Individual membership organization promotes modern Greek studies particularly in the U.S. but also wherever Greek culture is taught. Sponsors international and local symposia and seminars on language, literature, history, social sciences, and fine arts. Serves as information center for Byzantium and Modern Greek study programs. Affiliate of Modern Language Association and of the American Council on the Teaching of Foreign Languages. Issues semiannual bulletin, annual journal, and symposium papers.

MODERN HUMANITIES RESEARCH ASSOCIATION
Columbian College of Arts and Sciences
George Washington University
Washington, D.C. 20052
and Professor D.A. Wells, Hon. Sec.
Queen's University of Belfast
Belfast BT7, 1NN, Northern Ireland
International individual (by invitation) and institutional membership organization promotes advanced study and research in modern humanities, especially modern European languages and literatures (including English); strives to develop a broad unity of humanistic scholarship. Arranges individual contacts between scholars, and meetings, congresses, and colloquia in the U.S. and abroad. Publishes quarterly review, yearbook, annual bibliographies, and miscellaneous volumes.

MODERN LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA
62 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York 10011
Scholarly organization for college teachers of English and foreign languages. Advances literary and linguistic studies.

THE MONGOLIA SOCIETY, INC.
P.O. Box 606
Bloomington, Indiana 47401
Membership organization focuses on study of history and society of Mongols in past and present centuries. Holds annual meeting. Publishes annual journal, series of occasional papers, maps, materials on contemporary and historical Mongolian literature, etc.

MUSEUM OF AFRICAN ART

316-318 A Street, N.E.
Washington, D.C. 20002
Private/public endowment institution, with Frederick Douglass Institute of Negro Arts and History, uses art as stimulus to foster better understanding of African culture. Sponsors exhibits; education and extension programs. Offers consulting service. Publishes curriculum aids.

THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF THE PARTNERS OF THE ALLIANCE, INC. – See Partners of the Alliance, Inc.

NATIONAL COUNCIL FOR COMMUNITY SERVICES TO INTERNATIONAL VISITORS (COSERV)
1630 Crescent Place, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20009
Council of local and national non-governmental organizations share concern for short-term foreign visitor to the U.S. Serves as policy making and service center for organizations and individuals providing specific services to foreign visitors. Coordinates conferences, referrals, publications, and field trips. Headquarters at Meridian House (see).

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF ASSOCIATIONS FOR INTERNATIONAL STUDIES
Former name of Council for Intercultural Studies and Programs (see).

NATIONAL GEOGRAPHIC SOCIETY
17th and M Streets, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036
Scientific and educational international membership organization studies interactions of men and their environments. Publishes magazines, books, research reports, films, records.

NATIONAL NEWSPAPER ASSOCIATION
491 National Press Building
Washington, D.C. 20045
Professional organization arranges study projects and exchanges at governmental and personal levels.

NATIONAL SCHOLASTIC PRESS ASSOCIATION
720 Washington Avenue, S.E.
University of Minnesota
Minneapolis, Minnesota 55414
Membership organization provides educational and critical services to advisors working with school publications. Sponsors international study tours designed for in-depth experiences with foreign cultures. Arranges conferences.

NATIONAL SLOVAK SOCIETY
516 Court Place
Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania 15219
Non-sectarian membership organization offers insurance services, and works to preserve cultural practices of U.S. descendants of Eastern European families. Sponsors fraternal and cultural events, sports programs and quadrennial convention. Offers scholarships and student aid to members attending college. Publishes newspaper, annual almanac in English and Slovak languages.

NEW WILMINGTON MISSIONARY CONFERENCE
Pittsburgh Presbytery
801 Union Avenue
Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania 15212
United Presbyterian Church group awards scholarship to young U.P. Church members with New Wilmington Missionary Conference background for interpersonal experiences with missionaries in international and intercultural settings.

THE NEW WORLD FOUNDATION
100 East 85th Street
New York, New York 10028
Non-profit corporation directed toward improvement of elementary and secondary education and toward harmonizing relationships between persons of different racial and national background. Awards grants for projects which meet goals above. Publishes report of activities.

THE NORWEGIAN–AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION
St. Olaf College
Northfield, Minnesota 55057
Membership corporation promotes Norwegian-American historical research and literary work. Cooperates in maintenance of Norwegian-American archives at St. Olaf's College. Publishes newsletter, books, bibliographies, research reports.

ORGANIZATION OF AMERICAN STATES
17th and Constitution Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20006
Intergovernmental agency promotes economic, social, and cultural development of peoples of the Americas (Argentina, Barbados, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba – presently excluded from participation, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Grenada, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Jamaica, Mexico, Nicaragua, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Trinidid and Tobago, U.S.A., Uruguay, Venezuela). Its Inter-American Council for Education, Science and Culture promotes exchanges, encourages educational programs. Holds annual meetings at the ministerial level. Publishes a handbook, miscellaneous papers.

THE PAN PACIFIC AND SOUTHEAST ASIA WOMEN'S ASSOCIATION OF THE U.S.A., INC.
The Barbizon, 140 East 63rd Street
New York, New York 10021
Membership organization fosters better understanding and friendship among women of all Pacific and Southeast Asia areas through study and improvement of social conditions. Holds meetings, open houses for U.S. visitors, an annual national conference and periodic international conferences. Individual chapters sponsor special projects for foreign visitors, U.S. families, and new citizens, Publishes quarterly.

PARTNERS OF THE ALLIANCE, INC.
Earlier name of National Association of the Partners of the Alliance, Inc., also known as Partners of the Americas (see).

PARTNERS OF THE AMERICAS

2001 S Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20009
Private non-profit organization, affiliate of The National Association of the Partners of the Alliance, Inc., and of Alliance for Progress, sponsors people-to-people exchanges and technical assistance projects between individual U.S. states and Latin America. One-to-one partnership arrangements between individual U.S. states and Latin American countries focus on self-help and sharing: projects include agriculture and rural development, health, community education, cultural exchanges, student exchanges, etc. Sponsors large-scale programs between the Americas. Publishes informational brochure.

PEACE CORPS – See Action
Volunteers receive cross-cultural training usually in country of assignment.

PEOPLE–TO–PEOPLE INTERNATIONAL
3 Crown Center, Suite G-30
Kansas City, Missouri 64108
Organization of private citizens arranges interpersonal experiences for U.S. travelers in foreign countries, for foreign travelers in the U.S. "Grass roots" sharing of daily life is means toward international understanding. Holds annual meeting. Awards medallion annually. Publishes miscellaneous brochures.

THE POLISH AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION
984 N. Milwaukee Avenue
Chicago, Illinois 60622
Membership, scholarly, historical society promotes research in Polish American history to maintain correct image of Polish culture in the U.S. Holds annual meetings. Publishes semi-annual journal and quarterly bulletin.

POPULAR CULTURE ASSOCIATION
University Hall, Bowling Green University
Bowling Green, Ohio 43403
Individual and institutional membership organization studies U.S. and other artistic and commerical productions designed for mass consumption. Holds regional meetings and an annual convention. Maintains library. Offers summer course in teaching popular culture. Publishes quarterly journal, a bulletin, and other materials.

SOCIETY FOR APPLIED ANTHROPOLOGY
University of South Florida
Tampa, Florida 33620
Scientific membership society investigates principles controlling the relations of human beings to one another and the wide application of those principles to practical problems. Holds annual meeting. Publishes research data.

SOCIETY FOR INTERCULTURE EDUCATION, TRAINING AND RESEARCH
107 Mineral Industries Building, University of Pittsburgh
Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania 15260

SOCIETY OF FEDERAL LINGUISTS, INC.
P.O. Box 7765

Washington, D.C. 20044
Membership society of Federal employees who use one or more foreign languages in their work. Seeks to establish professional standards and training programs. Furnishes members information on language tools and techniques. Holds meetings which serve as forum for government and private authorities on translation, communication, and other relevant topics. Publishes newsletter and a journal.

SONS OF NORWAY
1455 West Lake Street
Minneapolis, Minnesota 55408
Fraternal and insurance society of Americans of Norwegian descent, sponsors and supports cultural projects, including fine arts, language, music, and sports programs. Offers language instruction in classes and summer camps for children. Publishes monthly magazine.

SONS OF SCOTLAND BENEVOLENT ASSOCIATION
19 Richmond Street West
Toronto, Ontario M5A, 1Y9, Canada
Association for persons of Scottish descent works to preserve Scottish language and culture in North America.

SPEECH COMMUNICATION ASSOCIATION
Skyline Center
5205 Leesburg Pike
Falls Church, Virginia 22041

THE SWISS SOCIETY OF NEW YORK
444 Madison Avenue
New York, New York 10022
Membership organization promotes Swiss-American relations in the U.S. and knowledge of Swiss cultural, scientific, and commercial developments. Sponsors lectures on international topics. Administers Swiss Benevolent Society. Holds monthly luncheons, special dinners and events, an annual banquet. Publishes weekly newspaper.

TEACHERS OF ENGLISH TO SPEAKERS OF OTHER LANGUAGES (TESOL)
455 Nevils Building, Georgetown University
Washington, D.C. 20057
Individual and group membership organization serves as center for and promotes scholarship in teaching of standard English to speakers of other languages and dialects. Holds annual convention with special interest workshops, study groups, seminars, and round tables. Publishes quarterly, a newsletter, and occasional papers.

THE TEMPLE OF UNDERSTANDING, INC.
1346 Connecticut Avenue
Washington, D.C. 20036
Non-profit educational corporation fosters world-wide education, communication, and understanding among religions. Sponsors conferences for international, intercultural discussion by and with religious leaders of spiritual teachings which are the value bases of great religions of the world. Publishes newsletter.

TOASTMASTERS INTERNATIONAL
2200 N. Grand Avenue
Santa Ana, California 92711
Non-profit membership (men and women) educational organization of world-wide Toastmaster clubs. A Toastmaster Club is an organized group which provides opportunities for improvement in leadership and oral communication skills. Translates and adapts its training materials to needs of international clubs. Publishes educational materials.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION AND WELFARE
Office of Education/Education Division/Institute of International Studies
Washington, D.C. 20202
U.S. Government agency administers grants provided by Fulbright-Hayes Act which "promot(es) modern foreign language training and area studies in U.S. schools, colleges, and universities by supporting visits and study in foreign countries by teachers and prospective teachers....for the purpose of improving their skills in languages and their knowledge of the culture of the people of these countries" and of foreign teachers to the U.S. Administers additional international programs for study and research. Issues materials published by Government Printing Office.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
The Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs
Washington, D.C. 20520
U.S. Government agency coordinates efforts for all government-sponsored international exchange programs. Administers variety of study and research exchange programs. Allocates funds for evaluations of exchange programs and participants. Publishes materials through the U.S. Government Printing Office.

UNITED STATES INFORMATION AGENCY
1750 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20547
U.S. Government agency explains and supports U.S. foreign policy objectives internationally. Conducts cross-cultural research via opinion polls, "image studies," and other research instruments into characteristics of Agency audiences, effects of its media communication and field programs (including English teaching, cultural centers, etc.). Does not distribute its publication domestically.

VISTA – See Action.
Volunteers receive three-to-five weeks pre-service and/or on-site training as background needed for assignments in distinctive cultural situations (inner city, migrant labor camp, Indian reservation). Emphasizes adaptation to poverty situation.

WORLD ASSOCIATION FOR CHRISTIAN COMMUNICATION
7 St. James's Street
London, S.W.1, England
Organization concerned with developing effective intercommunication among churches, particularly in the third world. Publishes a newsletter.